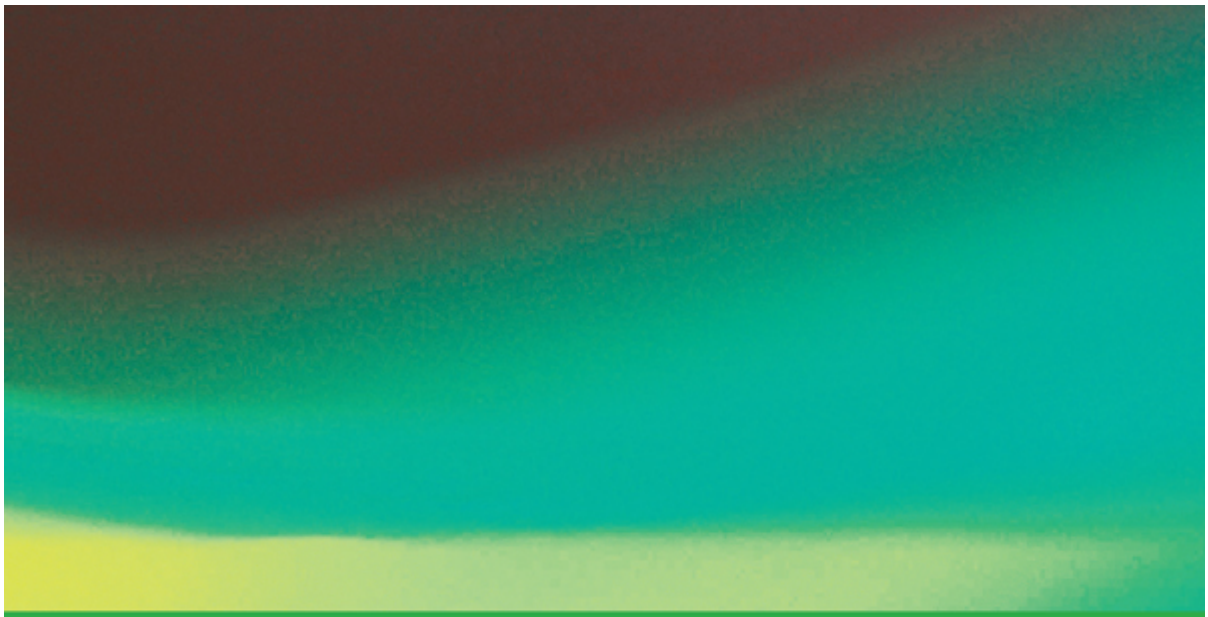
The Modern Anthropology of Southeast Asia

KINSHIP, POPULATION AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN THE 'NEW INDONESIA'

A STUDY OF NUAULU CULTURAL RESILIENCE

Roy Ellen

ROUTLEDGE



The Modern Anthropology of Southeast Asia

KINSHIP, POPULATION AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION IN THE 'NEW INDONESIA'

A STUDY OF NUAULU CULTURAL RESILIENCE

Roy Ellen

ROUTLEDGE

Kinship, Population and Social Reproduction in the ‘New Indonesia’

Nuaulu people on the Indonesian island of Seram have displayed remarkable linguistic and cultural resilience over a period of 50 years. In 1970 their language and traditional culture was widely considered ‘endangered’. Despite this, Nuaulu have not only maintained their animist identity and shown a robust ability to reproduce ‘traditional’ ritual performances, but have exhibited both population growth and increasing assertiveness in the projection of their interests through the politics of the ‘New Indonesia’.

This book examines how kinship organization and marriage patterns have responded to some of these challenges, and suggests that the retention of core institutions of descent and exchange are the consequence of population growth, which in turn has enabled ritual reproduction, and thereby effectively maintained a distinct identity in relation to the surrounding majority culture. Low conversion rates to other religions, and the political consequences of Indonesian ‘reformasi’, have also contributed to a situation in which, despite changes in the material basis of their lives, Nuaulu have projected a strong independent identity and organisation. In terms of debates around kinship in eastern Indonesia, this book argues that older notions of prescriptive social structure are fundamentally flawed. Kinship institutions are real enough, but the distinction between genealogical and classificatory relations is often unimportant; all that matters in the end is that the arrangements entered into between clans and houses permit both biological and social reproduction, and that the latter ultimately serves the former.

An important contribution to the study of the peoples of eastern Indonesia, it highlights a ‘good news story’ about the successful retention of a traditional way of life in an area that has had a troubled recent history. It

will be of interest to academics in various fields of anthropology, in particular the study of kinship and Southeast Asian societies.

Roy Ellen is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology and Human Ecology at the University of Kent. His recent books include *On the Edge of the Banda Zone* (2003) and *Nuaulu Religious Practices* (2012). He was elected to a fellowship of the British Academy in 2003, and was President of the Royal Anthropological Institute between 2007 and 2011.

The Modern Anthropology of Southeast Asia

Editors:
Victor T King
University of Leeds

Michael Hitchcock
University of Chichester

The books in this series address issues in processes of development, globalisation and change in Southeast Asia. Where appropriate they contextualise change and local responses to it by providing ethnographic materials on social and cultural forms and institutions. Although all the contributors to the series examine modern and contemporary issues in the anthropology of Southeast Asia, the emphasis in each book differs as authors choose to concentrate on specific dimensions of change and globalisation or work out particular conceptual approaches to the complex issues of development. Areas of concern include: nation-building, power and the media; technological innovations in agriculture and rural-urban migration; the expansion of industrial and commercial employment; the rapid increase in cultural and ethnic tourism; the consequences of deforestation and environmental degradation; heritage and identity; contemporary expressions of religious affiliation; the ‘modernisation of tradition’; ethnic identity and conflict; changing gender relations; and the religious transformation of society.

Sex, Love and Money in Cambodia

Professional Girlfriends and Transactional Relationships
Heidi Hoefinger

Identity and the State in Malaysia
Fausto Barlocco

Democracy, Corruption and the Politics of Spirits in Contemporary Indonesia
Nils Bubandt

Post-Tsunami Recovery in Thailand
Socio-cultural Responses
Monica Lindberg Falk

Kinship, Population and Social Reproduction in the 'New Indonesia'
A Study of Nuaulu Cultural Resilience
Roy Ellen

For more information about this series, please visit: www.routledge.com

Kinship, Population and Social Reproduction in the ‘New Indonesia’

A Study of Nuaulu Cultural Resilience

Roy Ellen

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2018
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2018 Roy Ellen

The right of Roy Ellen to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Ellen, R. F., 1947– author.
Title: Kinship, population and social reproduction in the 'new Indonesia': a study of Nuaulu cultural resilience/Roy Ellen.
Description: New York: Routledge, 2018. | Series: The modern anthropology of Southeast Asia | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018003460 | ISBN 9781138493872 (hardback) | ISBN 9781351027144 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Nuaulu (Indonesian people)—Kinship. | Kinship—Indonesia—Ceram Island. | Nuaulu (Indonesian people)—Rites and ceremonies. | Ceram Island (Indonesia)—Social life and customs.
Classification: LCC DS632.N83 E435 2018 | DDC 305.899/22—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018003460

ISBN: 978-1-138-49387-2 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-02714-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVan tage, LLC

To Orla and Alasdair as they embark on a life of kinship entanglement

Contents

List of figures
List of tables
Preface
A note on spelling

1 Introduction

2 Clans, history and the emergence of the Nuaulu ethnos

3 Descent, duality and gender

4 Houses, networks and the practices of kinship

5 Language and the social cognition of relationality

6 Marriage 1: exchange, process and transaction

7 Marriage 2: matrilaterality, bilaterality and alliance

8 Rules, contravention and enforcement

9 Demography, change and social reproduction

Works cited
Index

Figures

1.1 Connections between rules apparently enjoining men and women to marry their bilateral cross-cousin: (a) terminologically ‘prescribed’ marriage partners for a male ego; (b) terminologically ‘prescribed’ marriage partners for a female ego; and (c) the logic of ‘sister-exchange’.
1.2 The Moluccan region of eastern Indonesia.
1.3 Core model of the Nuaulu social formation: (a) the logic of ritual exchange between houses and (b) of marital exchange between clans.
1.4 Logical variations in the way sacred houses can make marital alliances and therefore influence their own reproduction.
1.5 Structural consequences of systematic marriage between bilateral cross-cousins: (a) selective genealogical equivalences for a male ego, and (b) selective genealogical equivalences for a female ego.
2.1 Map of the island of Seram (Ceram) from the *Atlas van Oost-Indien* published sometime between 1735 and 1747 by Jacob Keiser and Jan de Lat.
2.2 Island of Seram showing location of Nuaulu and other places mentioned in the text, and indicating some relevant changes in administrative boundaries between 1856 and 1970: (a) boundary of Saparua *afdeeling* circa 1856; (b) boundary of *kecamatan* Seram Selatan circa 1970, also showing (**A**) approximate boundary of Sepa *desa*.
2.3 Eastern part of Amahai sub-district, Seram, showing historical, recent and present Nuaulu settlements and other places mentioned in the text.
2.4 Order in which Nuaulu clans resettled in the vicinity of the coastal domain of Sepa around 1870–80.
3.1 Senior patriline for Rouhua Soumori in relation to reconstructed settlement history.
3.2 Model of nested relationships between kinship units of various degrees of inclusiveness.
3.3 Types of clan segmentation.

3.4 Genealogical connections and the process of clan segmentation: Sounaue-ainakahata and the creation of Sounaue-kapanusa in Rouhua.
3.5 Implications for tracing descent in different scenarios of remarriage.
3.6 Structural consequences of persistent uxorilocal residence.
4.1 The implicate relationship between clan and house over time.
4.2 Patrilines associated with the ***numa monne*** of the clan Neipani-tomoien in Rouhua, 2015.
4.3 Patrilines associated with the sacred houses of the clan Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua.
4.4 Tension between clan solidarity (expressed through the exchange of services) and genealogical (blood) solidarity of related persons acquired through marriage.
4.5 Relationship between ordinary dwellings and sacred houses, as an exchange and sharing relationship.
4.6 Residences of related persons grouped together spatially in the village of Rouhua, 1971: Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata and close kin.
4.7 Model of Nuaulu kinship relations as constituted through overlapping patrifocal ego-centred networks.
4.8 Fostering a male child following death of a father and remarriage of a mother: the ***ama piara*** relationship between Napuae Soumori and Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua, 1971.
4.9 Relationships underpinning transfer of a child from Matokehanaie to Soumori in compensation for murder (***ia iki ruhu-ruhu***).
5.1 Systemic connections between different kinds of Nuaulu social classifier.
5.2 Examples of name repetition of dead kin, emphasizing continuity of descent: (a) immediate lineage of Napuae Soumori, who repeats the name of his father who died before he was born, and (b) repetition of the names Pinasapu and Lohosina for two of his daughters who take the names of Napuae's grandfather's sisters.
5.3 The ***makae*** relationship: (a) male ego, and (b) female ego.
5.4 The ***sau*** relationships for a male ego.
6.1 Valuables being transferred from the old ***numa onate*** Soumori to a new sacred house and paraded around the new house, Rouhua April 2015.
6.2 Movement of (a) marriage-wealth payments, and (b) the direction of the ***konaupu***: Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, Rouhua 1970.

6.3 Direction of marriage-wealth payments (***susa***) in the marriage of Naya Peinisa and Rahie Sounaue-ainakahata, Simalouw 1990.
6.4 Wedding of Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien in Rouhua, September 1970: groom's party entering the sacred house of the bride after walking from that of the groom.
7.1 Marriage with a FMBSD as an example of ***hota usa wenue*** ('fire smoke siblings').
7.2 A genealogy of some of the close consanguines of Komisi Soumori, showing marital links as of 1971.
7.3 Marriage alliances for clan chiefs other than Soumori in Rouhua: (a) Matoke-pina, (b) Peinisa, (c) Neipani-tomoien, and (d) Sounaue-ainakahata.
7.4 How segmentation restricts marital exchange between clans.
7.5 Movement of spouses between clans for individual Nuaulu settlements, as these existed in 1971 (and 2015): (a) Rouhua, (b) Niamonae, (c) Bunara and (d) movement of women between clans Neipani and Sounaue and their constituent sub-clans (all settlements).
7.6 The offspring of Maineu Neipani-tomoien and Nepa Peinisa (Rouhua) and their marital alliances with different clans.
7.7 Classificatory sister-exchange: (a) Retaone Soumori and Hotena Neipani-tomoien; (b) Soine Soumori and Losa Sounaue-ainakahata.
7.8 Sororal classificatory sister-exchange: Mosone Soumori and Topaia Sounaue-ainakahata.
8.1 Mutual affinal avoidance relationships.
8.2 WBW avoidance relationships for Komisi Soumori, 1971.
8.3 Genealogical relationships described by the term ***sau monne*** (incest): (a) prohibitions on females for male ego, (b) prohibitions on males for female ego.
8.4 ***Sau monne*** relationship between Surita Matoke-pina and Asue Sounaue-ainakahata.
8.5 Clan and genealogical relationships providing context for the behaviour of various individuals following the elopement of Surita Matoke-pina and Asue Sounaue-ainakahata, 1971.
8.6 Leveritic and sororitic marriage compared.
9.1 Women parading with their new ***nasa*** following a ceremony for in-marrying women in the newly-constructed ***numa onate*** Soumori, Rouhua April 2015.

9.2 Comparison of age and sex structure for (a) Rouhua (1971) and (b) Nuanea (2012).
9.3 Island of Seram showing location of Nuaulu and changes in administrative boundaries between 2000 and 2015: (a) old domain and *desa* of Sepa (**A**), *kecamatan* of Teun, Nila and Serua – TNS – created after 2000 (**B**), Elpaputih Bay (**C**) and Amahai (**D**); and (b) relevant boundaries in 2015 and including Nuanea *desa* (**E**).
9.4 Modelling genealogical and social exchange between two clans and the houses that compose them: (a) the core dynamic, and (b) circulation over time as the smaller part of circulation between classificatory kin.

Tables

2.1 Distribution and size of Nuaulu clans by settlement: 1971 and 2001 compared
5.1 Basic Nuaulu kinship terms of reference
6.1 Type of marriage contracted and relationship category for male unions recorded in the Nuaulu kinship database, for (A) 1970–71 and for (B) 2015
6.2 Selected marriage-wealth payments between 1940 and 1985
6.3 The movement of marriage-wealth payments (***susa***) for the marriage of Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, Rouhua 1970
7.1 In-marriage and out-marriage for males by settlement, based on 254 first marriages in cumulative records, but excluding data for the more recent settlements of Simalouw and Tahena Ukuna (Nuanea)
7.2 Non-local clans into which men are marrying in Nuaulu south coast settlements
7.3 Rates of clan intermarriage, cumulative records for males until 2015: (a) all Nuaulu, (b) Rouhua, (c) Niamonae, (d) Bunara
7.4 Marriages for all Matoke males recorded in Nuaulu census
7.5 Instances of classificatory sister-exchange
7.6 All Soumori marriages for Rouhua, showing extent of data for WBW connections and three cases of WBW marriage
9.1 Populations of different Nuaulu settlements, indicating establishment, abandonment and inter-settlement mobility
9.2 Nuaulu distribution of clans and ritual houses, May 2015
9.3 Numerical measures of connectivity between Nuaulu clans (excluding exogamic sub-clans), based on male records in Nuaulu kinship database as of 2015

Preface

Nuaulu people on the island of Seram have displayed remarkable linguistic and cultural resilience over a period of 45 years, between 1970 and 2015. This same period has seen massive environmental impacts through deforestation, growing resource pressure through in-migration of other ethnic groups, and regional communal conflict. Despite this, Nuaulu have not only maintained their animist identity and shown a robust ability to reproduce ‘traditional’ ritual performances, but have exhibited marked population growth. They have become increasingly assertive in the projection of their interests through the politics of the ‘New Indonesia’. This book provides evidence for these claims, and tries to identify the conditions for this resilience. In particular, it examines how kinship organization and marriage patterns have responded to some of these exogenous factors during the same period, and thereby opens up some classic issues explored by an earlier generation of anthropologists undertaking fieldwork in eastern Indonesia. The book concludes by suggesting that the retention of core institutions of descent and alliance is the structural consequence of population growth, which in turn has enabled ritual reproduction, and thereby effectively maintained a distinct identity in relation to the surrounding majority culture.

Most of the genealogical and other ethnographic data discussed here were collected between 1970 and 1971, and added to over a subsequent 38-year period through eight separate field visits supported through various grants. My indebtedness to the funding bodies that supported this work and the small army of individuals who otherwise contributed to its success is mostly already on record (e.g. Ellen 1993: xv–xvii), although I think it important to acknowledge in particular here the work of Jonathan Nikijuluw, who assisted me during my initial doctoral research with the household surveys in Watane, Aihisuru, Hahualan and Bunara. The main work of analysis of ritual cycles, and that on recent Nuaulu history, was

undertaken in the context of ESRC grant R000–239310 (‘Frequency and periodicity in Nuaulu ritual reproduction’), which I held between 2001 and 2004. The writing of this book and support for fieldwork during 2015 was made possible due to receipt of a British Academy grant (SG131590, April 2014–March 2017), entitled ‘Demography, kinship and ritual reproduction: Nuaulu cultural resilience in the “New Indonesia”’. All recent fieldwork in Maluku has been conducted under the auspices of Pattimura University in Ambon within the terms of a Memorandum of Understanding with the University of Kent. In this connection I would particularly like to thank Hermien Soselisa. Among the many people who have contributed to the 2015 fieldwork as facilitators are: in Sepa: Sekretaris Abdullah Sopalatu; in Amahai, Camat Drs. C. Lekatompessy; in Nuanea: Sahune Matoke (***ia onate aia***) and Aipinua Matoke; in Rouhua, Sonohue Matoke; in Moni, Kaisa Neipani; in Watane (Niamonae), Marawae Neipani; in Bunara, Pitiri Neipani. In Niamonae I am also grateful to Hunimora Neipani for help with some of the census data collected in 2003, and in Rouhua especially Komisi Soumori (who died in 1990), Saete Soumori, Napuae Soumori and Heunaka Sounaue over a period of many years. I am indebted to Rosemary Bolton (as ever) for access to unpublished data, and to her and Hunanatu Matoke for advice on language and orthography. Emily Brennan and Tommy Resusun have been kind enough to allow access to some of their unpublished field data. Jim Fox has advised on systematizing the terminological data, and Gerard Persoon gave support during a research visit to Leiden in 2016. References to material in the Dutch state archives in The Hague (Rijksarchief: VOC and Ministerie van Koloniën) were consulted while I was a Fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) at Wassenaar in 1984. Mercy Morris and the Design Studio at Kent have provided vital assistance with the diagrams.

The overwhelming part of the material presented here is previously unpublished. However, bits of the argument have been explored in a number of public presentations: ‘Demography, kinship and ritual reproduction: Nuaulu cultural resilience in the “new Indonesia”’ (presented at the Austronesia Seminar, London School of Economics and Political Science, March 2014); ‘Pragmatism, identity and the state: how the Nuaulu of Seram have re-invented their beliefs and practices as “religion”’ (presented at the Royal Anthropological Institute research seminar, January 2015); and ‘Demography, marriage patterns and cultural resilience: a

“traditionalist” pathway to modernity in contemporary Maluku’ (different versions presented at the meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Studies in the United Kingdom, SOAS, London September 2016, and at the Institute for Social Anthropology of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) in Vienna). I would like to thank Johanna Whiteley, David Shankland, Wijayanto, Calum Blaikie, Martin Slama and Andre Gingrich for invitations and organization. Finally, part of Chapter 5 draws extensively on material and modified text previously published as ‘Semantic anarchy and ordered social practice in Nuaulu personal naming’, in *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 1983 (139, 18–45). I am grateful to the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde for allowing me to reproduce this.

Roy Ellen
Crockshard Farmhouse, Wingham
December 2017

A note on spelling

Indonesian and Ambonese Malay words, unless they have a special meaning in the context of this study, are written in *italic*. Nuaulu words are in ***bold italic*** and use the orthographic conventions recommended in Bolton and Matoke's (2005) *Kamus Sou Naunue-Sou Manai, Bahasa Indonesia-Nuaulu*. In addition, the spelling of toponyms now follows the transcription adopted by Bolton, though note that variation in the writing of both toponyms and personal (including clan) names is common in the Central Moluccas (e.g. Wae Pia/Waipia).

1
Introduction

Subject and problem

In 2012 I published *Nuaulu Ritual Practices*, an analysis of the frequency and reproduction of rituals in a Moluccan society. This was the outcome of fieldwork conducted by me at various times since 1970. Among other things, the book attempted to show how Nuaulu, living on the southern flank of the mountainous divide that runs west to east on the Indonesian island of Seram, had maintained complex cycles of ritual through demographic viability and variations in the availability of sacred objects and other resources. This in turn had permitted the continuation of an independent 'animist' religious identity, and demonstrated a robust ability on the part of the groups concerned to reproduce 'traditional' ritual performances. Thus, the Nuaulu have displayed a rather remarkable cultural resilience over a period of more than 40 years, despite massive deforestation, growing resource pressure, in-migration of other ethnic groups and regional communal conflict. This has been accompanied by increasing assertiveness in the way that they project their interests through engaging in the politics of the 'New Indonesia'.

In this present monograph I want to provide further evidence for these claims, and will attempt to identify the conditions of this resilience in relation to the structure of descent groups and marital alliance. I shall explore the structural importance of clans and 'houses', show how clan organization and marriage patterns have responded to various exogenous factors during the same period, and examine the hypothesis that the retention of core institutions of descent, exchange and alliance is in part a consequence of population growth. It is this that has enabled ritual reproduction, and thereby effectively maintained a distinct Nuaulu identity

in relation to surrounding majority culture. There is, I argue, a mutually supportive relationship between the key relations of descent and alliance and the perpetuation of key rituals. Rituals are focused on ‘houses’ and clans as corporate groups, and once the rituals disappear the clans have less purpose. And if clans and houses disappear through demographic erosion, then rituals can no longer be performed.

This analysis is only possible because I have longitudinal records for a period of over 40 years of ethnographic fieldwork. At the time of my doctoral research amongst the Nuaulu between 1969 and 1972, a theoretical preoccupation amongst anthropologists studying eastern Indonesian societies was with forms of organization and ‘patterns of thought’ related to cross-cousin marriage (see e.g. Van Wouden 1968; de Josselin de Jong 1977a). Indeed, there was a time when anthropological work in Indonesia seemed exclusively concerned with these issues, crucial as the data were to Lévi-Strauss’s theory of elementary kinship structures, and to the earlier work of a generation of Dutch scholars mainly associated with the University of Leiden, and where I had studied in 1968–69. Consequently, my first fieldwork was informed by these matters and I consequently assembled a considerable body of data designed to address them, including census and genealogical material. Moreover, subsequent linguistic work, which also involved a second census – conducted by Rosemary Bolton of the Summer Institute of Linguistics – means that we now have a long-term corpus that enables me to open-up some old debates in what I hope is an interesting way.

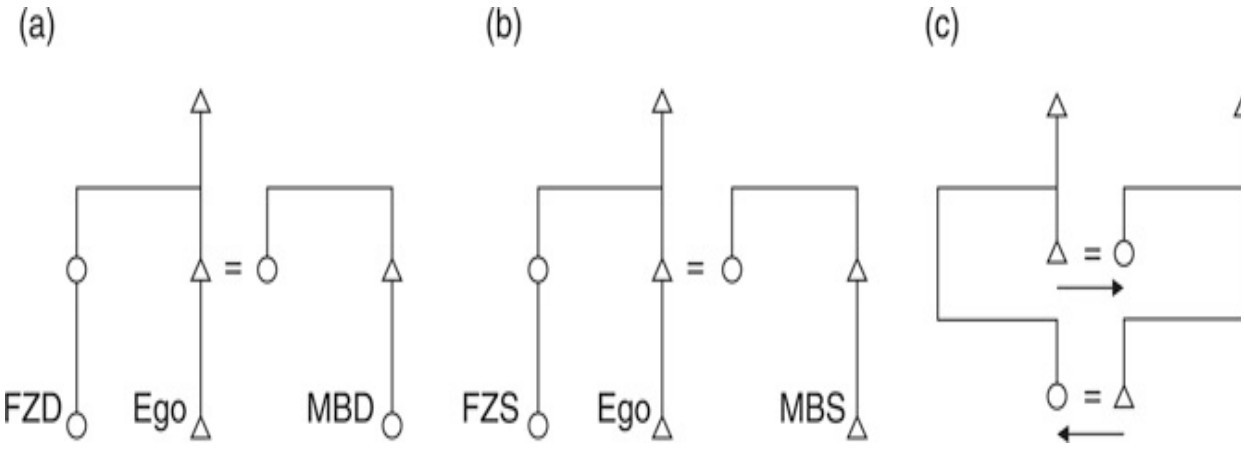


Figure 1.1 Connections between rules apparently enjoining men and women to marry their bilateral cross-cousin: (a) terminologically ‘prescribed’ marriage partners for a male ego; (b) terminologically ‘prescribed’ marriage partners for a female ego; and (c) the logic of ‘sister-exchange’.

Within the context of the core problem identified above, I look in particular at the idea of cross-cousin marriage, using terminological data, data on marriage norms and practices, and in the context of the overall system of social organization and the various structural forces that impinge upon it. Certain key features of the Nuaulu system point to the importance of 'bilateral cross-cousin marriage' in particular, which implies that it might be prescribed or preferred that a man marry his mother's brother's daughter (MBD) or father's sister's daughter (FZD) (Figure 1.1a), or that a woman marry her mother's brother's son (MBS) or father's sister's son (FZS) (Figure 1.1b). Looked at another way, this might seem to suggest that men in different clans exchange sisters, or women in different clans exchange brothers (Figure 1.1c). That such forms of marriage might exist was first effectively demonstrated and typologized by Lewis Henry Morgan (1877), and in relation to Indonesia in particular by Van Wouden (1935), and later elaborated analytically by Lévi-Strauss (1949). They exemplify what Mauss called 'direct' exchange and Lévi-Strauss 'restricted' exchange, both logically 'symmetric' (Barnard and Good 1984: 101). Subsequently, it became the subject of fierce debate as some ethnographers claimed to have found it, while others denied that it could ever have been viable. The problem partly disappeared once the rule was seen to apply to individuals who were addressed using certain terms rather than necessarily implying persons genealogically or genetically related in a particular way, and once the notion of 'prescription' was seen as simply a logical feature of a terminological system rather than a mandatory social requirement.

In the Nuaulu case, we have a situation where some of the terminology is consistent with exchange between bilateral cross-cousins, as are some features in the balanced exchange relations between houses. However, what we actually find in practice is that there is a preference for marriage between matrilateral cross-cousins expressed mainly in the statistical preponderance of marriages of the heads of house patrilines, while most people marry in a much more variable way, but in a way that involves ceding certain rights to the clan of the wife. The problem, as Lévi-Strauss noted, is that direct exchange (whether bilateral or patrilateral) inevitably generates multiple 'closed systems' which are precarious in a demographic and, we might add, in a biogenetic sense. By contrast, matrilateral cross-cousin (or asymmetric) marriage allows for the possibilities of exchanges (or alliances) with many more clans and is correspondingly more stable (Needham 1962: 15–17).[1]

In a contemporary context, bilaterality in terms of marriage might seem to imply forms of alliance that are less unstable in the face of population attrition through religious conversion than forms of marriage between unilateral cross-cousins, and the project described here will take on board this comparative dimension. I will necessarily also look at the concepts of 'house' and 'clan' in the light of forces emphasizing descent and alliance. Ethnographic work on 'kinship' in the Moluccas since 1970 has indicated the existence of greater variation in arrangements – both cognatic (e.g. Grzimek 1991; Ellen 2003) and those implicating cross-cousin marriage (Valeri 1975–6, 1980; Barraud 1979; McKinnon 1991; Hagen 2006; Pauwels 2009) – suggesting a much more diverse, flexible and complex picture for Seram than was previously assumed, with 'nuances and paradoxes of practice', and in which 'actions are rarely complete, and thus… rarely coincide with their type' (Valeri 1994: 2, 5). This emerging pattern reflects what we now understand for – say – the island of Timor (e.g. Hicks 1990). The models proposed to account for variation in systems of descent and alliance in the Moluccas have often downplayed practice (Van Wouden 1968; Barnes 1980 a; Clamagirand 1980; Valeri 1975 –6; Van Dijk and de Jonge 1987; but cf. Pannell 1990: 98; Hagen 2006). Moreover, in an area where marriage patterns had been seen by Van Wouden and later writers (Errington 1990) as defining an entire region (the Moluccas and Nusa Tenggara), some patterns on Seram (Ellen 2003: 39–40, 75–6; Grzimek 1991; Hagen 2006: 24, n7) seem to have more in common with the descriptions we have of North Moluccan societies (Duncan 2007; Visser 1989: 39) than with Nusa Tenggara. Moreover, attempts to explain this away by hypothesizing that these societies might be deformed, degenerated or transformed versions of some ideal more complete system, which existed prior to the arrival of the Dutch or conversion to mainstream religions, are confronted by an absence of evidence.[2]

In the mid-1960s I attended lectures at the LSE by Robin Fox that resulted in his book *Kinship and Marriage*. Fox was an irreverent and idiosyncratic anthropologist, who combined an interest in neo-Darwinism with the then burgeoning influence of Lévi-Strauss's work in kinship. Fox's clear vision of the logic of kinship – while it may not have stood the test of time, and may indeed be considered now by many to be distinctly unfashionable – introduced me to some of these classic problems. This book, therefore, for me at least, has a rather retro feel to it, and in developing it I have surprised

myself that following a career in which I have been largely concerned with intellectual problems of a different order I have returned to these matters after a break of 40 years.

Modelling the basic structure of Nuaulu society

The Nuaulu are an Austronesian-speaking people of the island of Seram in the Moluccan archipelago of eastern Indonesia (Figure 1.2). The contemporary Nuaulu social formation comprises an aggregation of what I have described elsewhere as quasi-independent exogamous patrilineal clans or descent groups, allied through marriage and with a historical sense of belonging together through sharing a common language, and through being politically an entity of varying degrees of unity throughout its known history. Collective Nuaulu identity is also emphasized through its designation for certain administrative purposes by the government as a single grouping and as a cultural configuration very different from those around it in terms of its ritual practices and beliefs.

A plausible core model of the Nuaulu social formation is shown in Figure 1.3a. At a time when emphasis in social theory is on sociality as something that is never quite fixed and always emergent, this might seem like an outrageous simplification, but I would like to insist that it is a helpful one. Each clan comprises for the most part a diarchy of two 'houses' that are in a reciprocal ritual exchange relationship: that of the clan chief (***ia onate***) and that of the ***kapitane*** (war leader). Thus, for example, as the key life-cycle rituals of a member of House A.1 unfold, so the male and female heads of House A.2 will supervise ceremonies, and on another occasion vice versa. The relationship between 'houses' is therefore reminiscent of the putative dual organizations and 'moieties' that pre-occupied an earlier generation of anthropologists, and who accorded it primacy in evolutionary schemes (see e.g. de Josselin de Jong 1970; Lévi-Strauss 1963). Despite this apparent convenient balance, the house of the clan chief takes precedence, or more correctly is primus-inter-pares, in terms of relations with other clans. Moreover, because of a rule of clan exogamy, the human composition of 'houses' can only be biologically reproduced at clan level. Houses cannot biologically reproduce themselves (Figure 1.3b). Even though houses cannot

biologically reproduce themselves, one question we might want to ask is whether they operate with any independence when it comes to marriage? In other words, does a house use clan exogamy as a way of ensuring its own continuity rather than simply that of the clan, and do particular houses have repeat alliances with the same clan or with different clans, or indeed with the same house within a clan or houses within different clans? These possibilities are diagrammed in Figure 1.4.

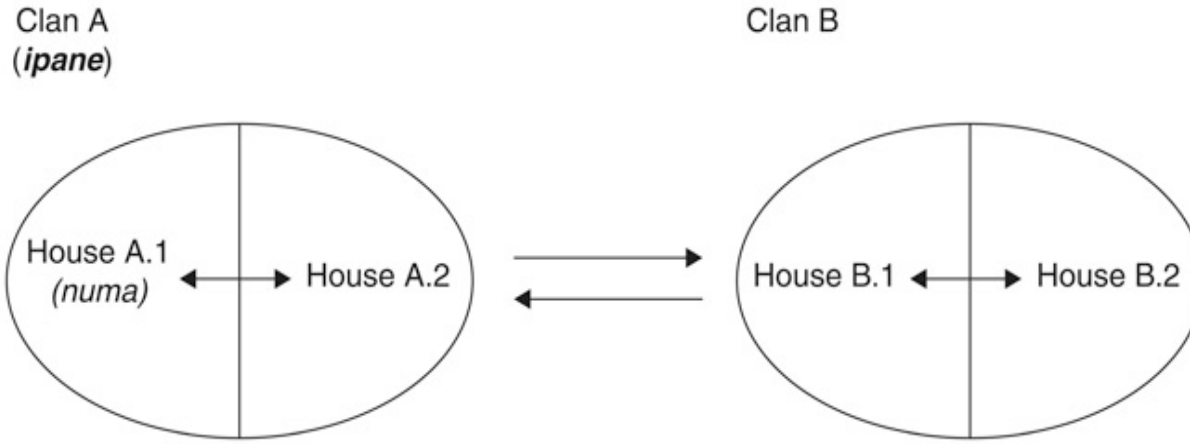
The relationship between clans repeats in certain respects between houses, and there are rituals in which a supervisory role can only be taken by another specified clan (e.g. in male puberty ceremonies). However, the main exchange relationship

126°E
128°E
130°E
132°E
134°E
2°N
0°
2°S
4°S
6°S
8°S
N
0
200
Kilometres
Halmahera
Ternate
Tidore
Mare
Waigeo
Teluk Cendrawasih
(Geelvink Bay)
Sorong
Manokwari
Salawati
Papua
Sula
Misool
Teluk Berau
(MacCluer Gulf)
1
2
Buano
Kelang
Seram
Buru
Manipa
Teluti
Bay
Ambon
Leksula
Fak Fak
Onin
Karas
Gorom
Kaimana
Adi
Banda
Kei
BANDA SEA
Tual
Elat
Dobo
Serua
Aru
Nila
Damar
Tanimbar
Timor

Figure 1.2 The Moluccan region of eastern Indonesia. The area enclosed in the box is that enlarged in Figure 2.4. Numerals 1 and 2 indicate, respectively, Opin and Rumah Olat, two Nuaulu-speaking villages on the north coast, discussed further in Chapter 2.

between clans is through marriage, between wife-givers (***hanahanai***) and wife-takers (***tanaite***). In the model, it seems that two clans are expected to be in an enduring reciprocal relationship of spouse exchange (Figure 1.5), in which men in the MBS-FZS (***makae***, or 'strong') relationship ideally exchange sisters. As we

(a)


Clan A
(*ipane*)
Clan B
House A.1
(*numa*)
House A.2
House B.1
House B.2

(b)

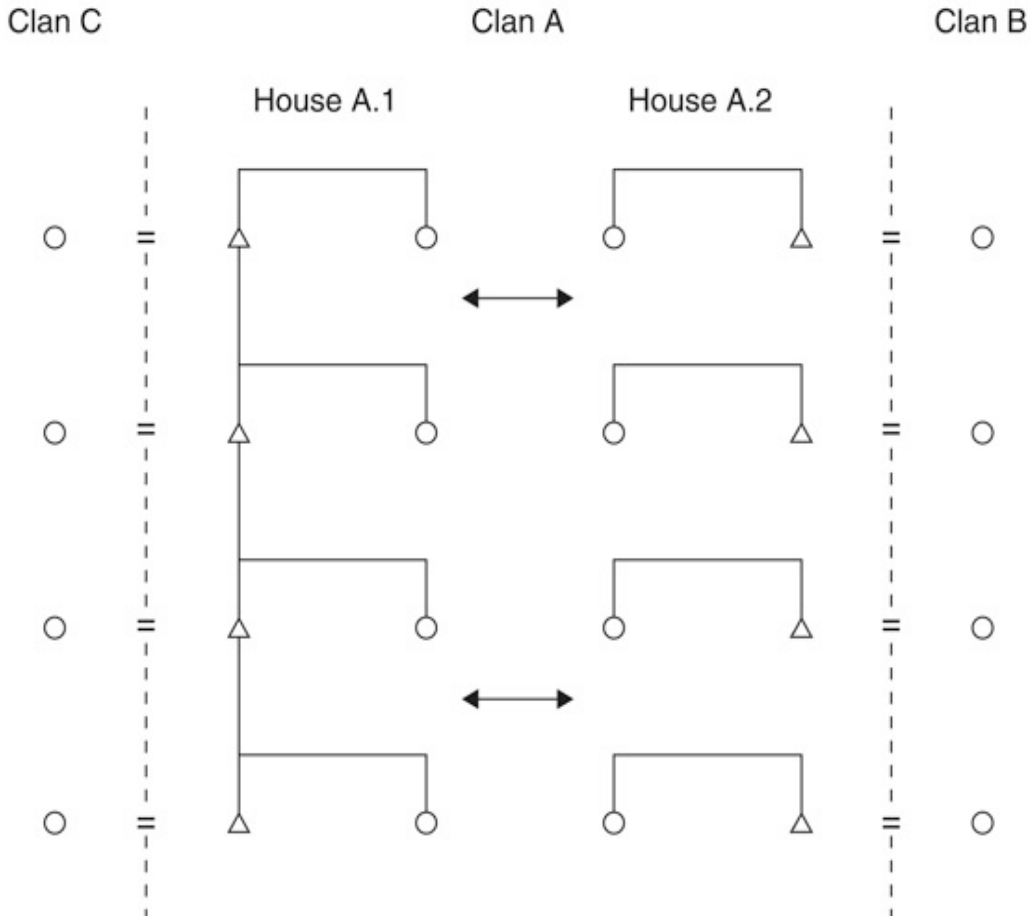

Clan C
Clan A
Clan B
House A.1
House A.2

Figure 1.3 Core model of the Nuaulu social formation: (a) the logic of ritual exchange between houses and (b) of marital exchange between clans.

shall see in Chapter 5, this is consistent with the relationship terminology through some key terminological equations. However, the model of structural equivalence between exchanging groups is nuanced by a notion of precedence found at clan level, where the ***ia onate*** Matoke, or 'Lord of the Land' is primus-inter-pares with

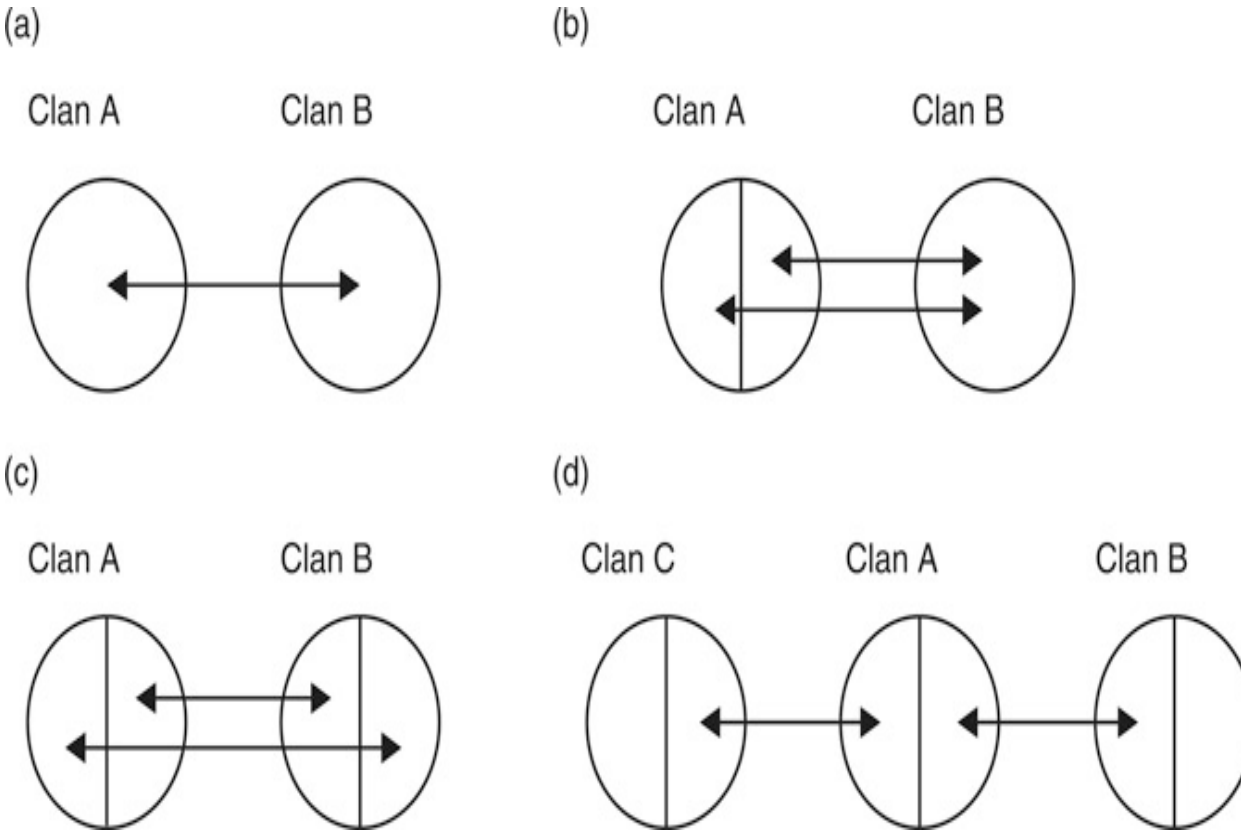


Figure 1.4 Logical variations in the way sacred houses can make marital alliances and therefore influence their own reproduction.

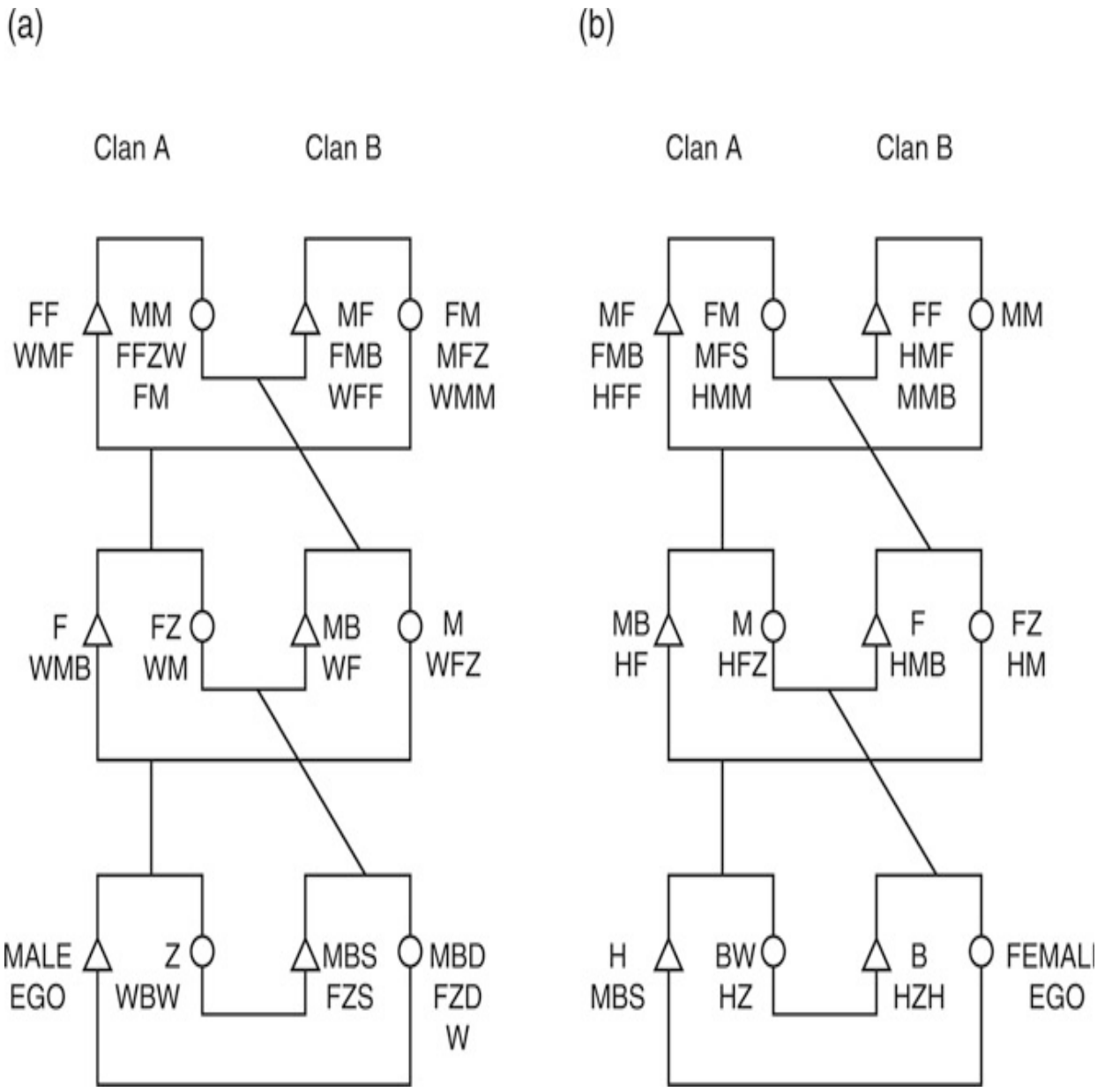


Figure 1.5 Structural consequences of systematic marriage between bilateral cross-cousins: (a) selective genealogical equivalences for a male ego, and (b) selective genealogical equivalences for a female ego.

respect to all other clan heads in certain matters, though he is in other respects equal. Asymmetries in the relations between clans are also reflected in topogeny, in terms of precedence following the history of how clans settled in particular places as reported in myths (cf. Fox 1997), including those with some element of historical plausibility. As historical and topogenic accounts of inter-clan relations vary between clans, this too complicates notions of ranking and structural equivalence.

Although there is precedence involving different Nuaulu clans in particular contexts, the only hierarchies are relative and temporary. Indeed, there is a prevailing notion of structural equivalence between clans, notwithstanding the particularities of any one situation. This is consistent with the core model and with the apparent logical implication of marriage between bilateral cross-cousins. This is not always the case, and probably seldom so, in eastern Indonesian societies of the kind Shelley Errington (1990) calls ‘exchange societies’. Indeed, Susan McKinnon (1991: 213) notes that ‘in a system where reciprocity is based upon the perpetuation of asymmetric and hierarchical relations, a symmetric marriage not only denies hierarchy but also shatters the very possibility of reciprocity’. This – namely the combination of dualistic social forms with asymmetric marriage – is what Fox (1999: 5) has called the ‘paradox of symmetry’ (also Forth 2001: 49–52), in an attempt to address Lévi-Strauss’ question (1963: 140) as to how the reciprocal obligations of two groups can be at the same time hierarchically related. In the Nuaulu model, however, symmetric marriage looks as though it should be the structural quintessence of general reciprocity. In order to pursue this hypothesis we need to examine the empirical (including numerical) evidence showing the extent to which Nuaulu practice deviates from the model outlined here.

The bilateral model I have outlined might seem consistent with the overarching structuralism of a Leiden or Parisian variety, which in its most robust form claims to present an analysis of ‘total structures’ (Ellen 1980). Indeed, it would seem to fit within the framework proposed by Tongli (1994) on the basis of data collected among Nuaulu between 1988 and 1991, in an analysis strongly informed by Dumontian ideas. Tongli’s objective was to present an overarching – one might almost say a phenomenological – picture of Nuaulu ‘socio-cosmic values’, emphasizing the structural dominance of abstract categories and relationships: between brother and sister, older sibling and younger sibling, wife-giver and wife-receiver, mountain and sea, and geographically, the complementarity of the settlements Aihisuru and Watane. The fundamental role that Tongli accords to Aihisuru-Watane symmetry (see e.g. p. 442) can only have existed for 100 years (as we shall see in Chapter 2), while his approach somewhat assumes that Nuaulu have a single and global view of their own system. Most Nuaulu that I have been acquainted with just know parts of the system, proclaim their ignorance of other parts, and are more likely to simply follow ‘the pressure of practice’. Of those senior figures that are prepared to take an overarching view on how

the system should work, that of Marpati Sounaue-ainakahata in Watane (and later of Simalouw and Nuanea), and on who Tongli relies extensively for information, is different from that of Komisi Soumori (in Rouhua), who has informed my interpretation on certain significant matters. The ritual opposition between Matoke (sky) and Kamama (petrified tree) that Tongli describes as being so important for Aihisuru and Watane, is of little direct significance in Bunara and Rouhua, where the clan Kamama is not present, though the use of the conceptual opposition ***kaka-wani***: ***sau*** to describe the relationship between Nuaulu and Sepa is shared by all (Tongli 1994: 167; here Chapter 5). In this book I am less concerned with socio-cosmic mythic precedents, symbolic alignments and logical patterns in the terminology, than with those social relations that we conventionally describe as 'kinship and marriage' as they are actually practiced and experienced. In the light of this it is quite probable that certain features of the data have been 'under-interpreted'.

Organization of the work

My account of the research problem so far may seem very abstract, but I hope in the chapters that follow to unpack and explore each of the key elements. I also hope that along the way I will have provided an outline of those issues that we might expect to be covered in a more conventional ethnographic account of 'kinship and marriage', without claiming kinship as some kind of autonomous 'system' of relations, or subsuming it into an account of generalized unembedded relationality; and avoiding altogether philosophical discussion of what kinship might be, either for the Nuaulu or for the anthropologists who study them (Sahlins 2011). We begin in Chapter 2 with an historical introduction to the Nuaulu and their clans. Nuaulu history is essentially the history of clans and the relations between them, in which (like other peoples of Seram, e.g. Alune: Boulan-Smit 2010; and Maneo: Hagen 2006: 71) topogeny and the spatial configuration of social history features as a central process. But clanship can only be understood by further addressing what is meant by the term 'Nuaulu'. Once the basic picture has been established we proceed to Chapter 3, in which I investigate – through the notions of descent and social organization – how what Nuaulu

of both sexes actually experience through inter-personal interactions connects to the structural context of the clan through the male line, and to relations with other clans through mothers, sisters and daughters. Chapter 4 provides evidence for the domestic, residential and genealogical organization of Nuaulu groups as a lived reality: the various networks of relationships and patterns of interaction. In Chapter 5 I examine how people make sense of these relations by categorizing them through language. Language enables, through the instantiation of categories and rules, the simplification of genealogical experience in order to facilitate ongoing ordered relationships. There then follow two chapters on marriage. Chapter 6 looks at marriage in its institutional and structural sense, exploring the processes by which it comes about and develops, the physical transactions that accompany it and the wider exchange practices of which such transactions are part. Chapter 7 brings us to the issue of cross-cousin marriage, the extent to which Nuaulu marry cousins, whether genealogical or classificatory, how this relates to the transaction of things, and what evidence there is for bilaterality and the exchange of siblings in marriage arrangements. Chapter 8 takes us back to how Nuaulu make sense of social relations as a body of rules and the messy reality of rules inevitably being broken from time to time, and what light this sheds on the wider understanding of Nuaulu society as a continuing entity, as a mode of 'shared intentionality' (Tomasello 1999). The final chapter (Chapter 9) addresses the core problem outlined in this introduction. It looks at demographic changes, settlement growth and clan vitality over the preceding 40 years, and tells the story of how national and local political changes have permitted Nuaulu to 'regain' (as they would see it) more autonomy in their affairs. The chapter offers an overview of the Nuaulu system, particularly in comparison with marriage patterns elsewhere in the region. I conclude that the process has been partly one of serendipity but also of calculation: biological reproduction has been a necessary condition for social resilience and reproduction, but equally social reproduction has provided the context for this. Each support and constrain the other.

Research methods

My work on Nuaulu kinship and marriage occupied a good part of my initial fieldwork between 1969 and 1971. What gave it material focus was the development of a card index system with a record for each individual. Each record contained basic genealogical and census data, with space for additional information on personal names, marriage, property ownership and health for the entire population of the settlement of Rouhua up until the time I left the field in April 1971. On the basis of my experience in developing this system, in November 1970 I also organized a complete household survey for the then settlements of Watane, Hahualan, Aihisuru and Bunara, the data elicitation being undertaken by Jonathan Nikijuluw, a local school teacher. On subsequent visits in 1973, 1974, 1981, 1986, 1990, 2003 and in 2009 and 2015, these records have been updated whenever possible. In 2015 I made a deliberate attempt to update my records for individuals in Rouhua and the remaining settlements near Sepa, and in the then new Nuaulu local administrative entity (*desa*) of Nuanea. All this accumulated information I have been able to check against records made available to me by Rosemary Bolton (from a survey conducted in 1995). This resulted in some corrections, and new records for many families who had converted to Christianity or Islam by that date. With respect to some 2015 data for Nuanea, I have also been able to check with Emily Brennan, and have supplemented my records where necessary. The original card index records were transferred to a computer file in 1980 with the assistance of Michael Fischer and Janet Bagg, and most recently to an upgraded Filemaker Pro database. As of January 2017 there were a total of 1128 separate records for both living and dead individuals, which includes data on 292 marriages contracted by named male individuals (including 38 second or subsequent marriages), and 292 marriages contracted by named female individuals (including 28 second or subsequent marriages), mainly for the period 1960–2015. However, the corpus of records is still disproportionately biased in favour of the settlement of Rouhua, and is most complete for genealogical rather than the other categories of personal data. It is not a sample survey formally tested for statistical significance, but does represent about a third of the present total population, biased towards the older generation.

Genealogies were also acquired outside of the database, with respect to special individuals and events, and inevitably some people know less about their relationships than others. I have tried to triangulate all data, but cannot resolve all inconsistences, which to a degree is what we must expect from oral statements of connection between persons that are inevitably

incomplete, sometimes inaccurate, based on long-term memory, and that are perspectival (Barnes 1967; Zeitlyn 1993). How to handle adopted children in particular has at times been confusing, especially those assimilated into non-birth clans as part of bridewealth transactions (cf. Hagen 2006: 100).

Collecting kinship and personal data is especially challenging amongst the Nuaulu given alternative address and reference terms, prohibitions on using certain personal names, the preferential use of teknonyms wherever possible, and the habit of changing the names of children (often several times) during infancy following illness.[3] Moreover, some Nuaulu are known by the (slightly) different Ambonese Malay (AM) versions of their names, where often /n/ is replaced by /l/ (e.g. Nohia > Lohia; Mosone > Masoli, Natunesi > Latulesi, Paikone > Paikole, Soine > Soile, Teneam > Teliam, Tuane > Tuale), or by nicknames in AM or other languages (e.g. Pinahai > 'Bola', Uri > 'Talewa'). Thus, any one individual might be addressed or referred to by several different names (see also Florey and Bolton 1997: 31). Clan names can similarly be sometimes misleading. Nowadays, especially in official contexts, Nuaulu will use their main clan name (e.g. Sounaue or Neipani). However, what I describe here as 'sub-clan' names (e.g. Ainakahata or Tomoien) indicate important structural distinctions, not least of which is exogamous status, while some sub-clans may occasionally be referred to only by their sub-clan name (e.g. Nahatue). Thus, although it may seem clumsy, the Nuaulu kinship database uses the full name (e.g. Sounaue-ainakahata, Neipani-tomoien and Neipani-nahatue). AM versions of clan names are also often preferred in dealings with outsiders and for government purposes. For example, Neipani becomes Laipari and Numanaeta becomes Rumah Lait. This practice is further discussed in Chapter 2.

On the basis of the corpus described I have produced genealogical diagrams for particular households, patrilines, marriages, 'houses' and accumulated case histories of disputes between marriage partners and between relatives regarding particular marriages, fosterage and adoption, conflicts over land, marriage negotiations and transactions. I have found that the arguments that I wish to pursue in this analysis are appropriately supported by the use of kinship notation and genealogical diagrams. I make no excuse for this, as they have aided my own thinking and provide succinct concrete illustrations of points I wish to make. However, since they are less used now than previously, as substantive interests have moved away from more formal analysis of genealogical relationships, I should perhaps explain

that I have followed the advice of Barnard and Good (1984) and Parkin (1997) on technical matters of display and for most definitions. In the text, genealogical relationships are spelled-out for terms familiar in English usage (e.g. ‘mother’, ‘grandfather’), though to prevent cumbersome lexical constructions I use standard kinship notation (type A in Barnard and Good 1984: 3–5, plus ancillary symbols *e*, *y*, *ms*, and *fs*; respectively ‘elder’, ‘younger’, ‘male-speaking’ and ‘female-speaking’) in both text and diagrams for what in English genealogical descriptive language are often complex polynomials (e.g. FFZyS and MeBDD for father’s father’s sister’s younger son and mother’s elder brother’s daughter’s daughter). For the transliteration of Nuaulu words I have followed wherever possible the orthography adopted in Bolton and Matoke (2005).

Notes

1 In my first attempt to summarize Nuaulu marriage and its consequences, I overstated the significance of marrying bilateral cross-cousins and underestimated the occurrence of marriages between classificatory matrilateral cross-cousins (e.g. Ellen 1978: 16–17, 50–1), though recognizing the mismatch between what was considered ideal and what actually happens. Moreover, I was too ready to see the problem as a ‘structural’ one in the sense a structuralist would understand it, rather than being about the causes and consequences of micro-demography.

2 The relationship between systematic marriage between cross-cousins, patterns of terminology and general principles of social order, has generated a considerable body of literature, including some excellent monographs; and for a long time has been considered a defining feature of the ethnography of eastern Indonesia. In this monograph, I have tried not to get bogged-down in a detailed assessment of this literature or in point-by-point comparisons, partly because it would beg the very meaning of cross-societal comparison (see Chapter 9), and also because I feel that something of a fresh perspective is called for. Nevertheless, it may be useful to summarize this literature by way of background.

It is convenient to distinguish two phases in this work, separated by the benchmark publication edited by James Fox in 1980, *The Flow of Life*. This attempted to evaluate the main characteristics of eastern Indonesian societies in the light of previous empirical and theoretical work. Studies prior to *The Flow of Life* were heavily influenced by Dutch structuralist approaches, particularly by the idea of Van Wouden’s ‘structural core’ (see Molnar 2000: 245) with its concern for the basic unity of social organization, ritual and myth (e.g. Gunawan 2000: 5; Renard-Clamagirand 1982). Needham, in various writings, explicitly sought to test Van Wouden’s theses. However, this work tended to focus on normative statements, on rules and the logic of kinship terminology – how ‘principles of order’ express and govern diverse areas of life so as to present us with a unity of thought and action (e.g. Barnes 1974; Forth 1981). For example, for Forth (1981: 282) ‘The Rindi social order is *governed* [my emphasis] by a system of asymmetric prescriptive alliance’, while ‘the *basis* [my emphasis] of conceptual (…) and social order in Rindi is a pervasive dual classification (Forth 1981: 415). As Forth (1981: 1) states, he is ‘more interested in ‘common ideas and social action as it expresses these ideas than in more directly observable patterns or tendencies

of behaviour'. Forth follows Needham in prioritizing general symbolic schemas, but despite his concern with general 'principles of order', manages to provide us with a considerable amount of data on actual marriage patterns.

Since *The Flow of Life*, eastern Indonesia has revealed itself as a more complex area than Van Wouden envisaged (Lewis 1988: 297). This is partly a consequence of better evidence, including detailed statistical data on actual patterns, exemplified by Forth's (1981: 395) provision of genealogies from 66 descent groups, the 162 genealogies supplied by Renard-Clamagirand (1982) and the large corpus of 1605 marriages provided by Molnar (2000: 121). But there is also increased focus (e.g. Lewis 1988: 199) on the disparities between kin terms, rules and social practices, which Needham (1973) had begun to identify earlier. There were also doubts about the primacy of different forms of cross-cousin marriage and the idea that structured alliances could be established exclusively on the basis of cross-cousin marriage (Fox 1980b: 329–30). After 1980, studies became more theoretically fluid, tended to be more critical of structuralist approaches, and more concerned with evidence for actual patterns of marriage, less concerned with rules and structural order, than, for example, with individual marriage pathways (Allerton 2004) emerging from the specificities of local situations presenting different empirical realities, such as with regard to place and land. Methodologically, they were less inclined to adopt the collective authorial voice. Moreover, ethnography was becoming more female-centric, with more on gender and with more female ethnographers, which in turn encouraged new perspectives.

3 About 302 individuals of the 1128 recorded in the Nuaulu census database (27 percent) possess two or more names, which include names acquired on conversion to Christianity or Islam. These latter too can be a source of confusion, as traditional names often continue to be used as terms of reference (rather than address) after conversion, and it is common for converted parents to continue to give newborn children both traditional and conversion names.

2
Clans, history and the emergence of the Nuaulu ethnos

Flexibility and continuity in the use of ethnic labels

The ethnographic literature on both archipelagic and mainland Southeast Asia abounds in warnings about accepting ethnonyms at face value (e.g. Lebar 1972: v; Lebar, Hickey and Musgrave 1964: v; Moerman 1965, 1968), and the entanglements that are inevitably confronted even by the most careful scholar. Thus, Edmund Leach (1954: 41–61), writing of the Burmese Kachin Hills, rightly asserts the dangers of assuming congruity between categories of common language speakers and those that collectively self-identify as a cultural or socio-political group, only himself to fall into the trap of having left behind the issue of definitions in his introduction. Such warnings are particularly rich for writings on Borneo, where cognatic organization has de-stabilized the relationship between corporate groups and settlements, and where small mobile low status hunter-gather bands have historically coalesced and fragmented in response to ecological and other exogenous forces as they have moved through the forest (e.g. King 1979; Sercombe and Sellato 2007). But it is also an issue for parts of the more easterly islands (e.g. Lebar 1972: 116–18), including large parts of Seram. However, on Seram there are also areas where there has been a relatively stable connection over a long period between languages spoken and social groups (e.g. Alune, Wemale; see e.g. Duyvendak 1926), in a way that seems to challenge aspects of the current consensus asserting the often transient, imposed and constructed notions of ethnicity (Cohen 1978). Similarly, in the historical literature for early modern Southeast Asia we are advised of the

permeability of ethnic boundaries, except where Europeans invent them (Reid 1988). In this chapter we explore the paradox that though Nuaulu identify with the ethnonym that is generally used to describe them, and have an oral history that connects well with what we find in the European sources over several centuries, their primary point of allegiance is not with anything as abstractly conceptualized as an 'ethnic unit' but with a group they call ***ipane***, and which I pragmatically describe as a 'clan'.

1660–1880: onomastics, toponymy and language history

The first reference to Nuaulu in the historical record is, as far as we know, in a work by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) historian George Rumphius (*De Generale Landbeschrijving* [1674–1678]: 130–1),[1] though the term in this sense can only be understood to mean – literally translating from the Malay – 'the people of the headwaters of the river Nua' ('Nua ulu'). Contemporary Nuaulu will sometimes refer to themselves as ***Naunue***, their language as ***Sou osa*** ('the one language') and their distinctive customary practices, in contrast to those of others, as ***Wemane***. In Spoken Indonesian or Ambonese Malay the name Nuaulu often elides into 'Naulu', while /l/ is generally replaced in Nuaulu with /n/. At the end of the seventeenth century, the majority of the population of Seram still adhered to traditional ritual practices, though a number of significant Muslim-headed poli-ties had been established along the coast since the late fifteenth century. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century several Christian enclaves had also been established, by Dutch protestant missionaries, working within the context of the East India Company's attempt to consolidate its power-base following the wars to protect its monopoly over the trade in spices. However, we are provided with no reliable figures for the population as a whole. Early reports on the distribution of the Nuaulu population and its size are for the most part speculative, although what we do know of their history of interaction with the Muslim domain of Sepa, and from oral histories of absorption of Nuaulu clans into the domain of Sepa, suggest a gradual demographic decline from the late seventeenth century.

Rumphius[2] describes Nuaulu as living in the central mountains of Seram between Besi in the north and Sepa in the south, but more towards Sepa – in fact where they are predominantly living today. In a map made by Jacob Keiser and Jan de Lat published between 1735 and 1747, but most likely based on data that are much earlier (Figure 2.1) the names 'Noeoloe', 'Noewa' and 'Noaola' occur in several different places, though Sepa is clearly marked as being on the coast at the point where the overland route to the north begins. Toponyms that we know from both the European records and from Nuaulu oral narratives – such as Besi and Opin (optionally written as Bessy and Open/Obin in the texts) – also appear in several places across the interior, while Sawai and Saleman are placed on the north coast, and Rumah Olat, a little inland. In the written record, Nuaulu are reported as allies of Saleman (sometimes rendered in the text as Peliman, and more generally known as Seleman), the latter being converted to Islam by Raja Hasan Suleiman of Hitu on the island of Ambon. Nuaulu narratives that I gathered from Saite Soumori and Saniau Matoke-pina in 1975 speak of Besi as a village that once existed on the north bank of the Upa below the deserted Nuaulu settlement of Amatene, the evidence of which can still be found in the form of broken pottery shards and *batu pemali* (sacred stones). Besi subsequently moved to the north coast near Opin where it is presently located (Deninger 1914), speaking a different language, but in a continuing *pela* (quasi-siblingship) alliance with Nuaulu.[3] During the seventeenth century the geographic positioning of several of the toponyms associated with the interior was unstable, appearing on maps in different places, sometimes towards the north coast and sometimes towards the south coast, and this may reflect conflict and general political instability as much as ignorance.

During the mid-seventeenth century both Sepa and Tamilouw had just been converted to Islam, allegedly through a Muslim saint from Hila, which like Hitu

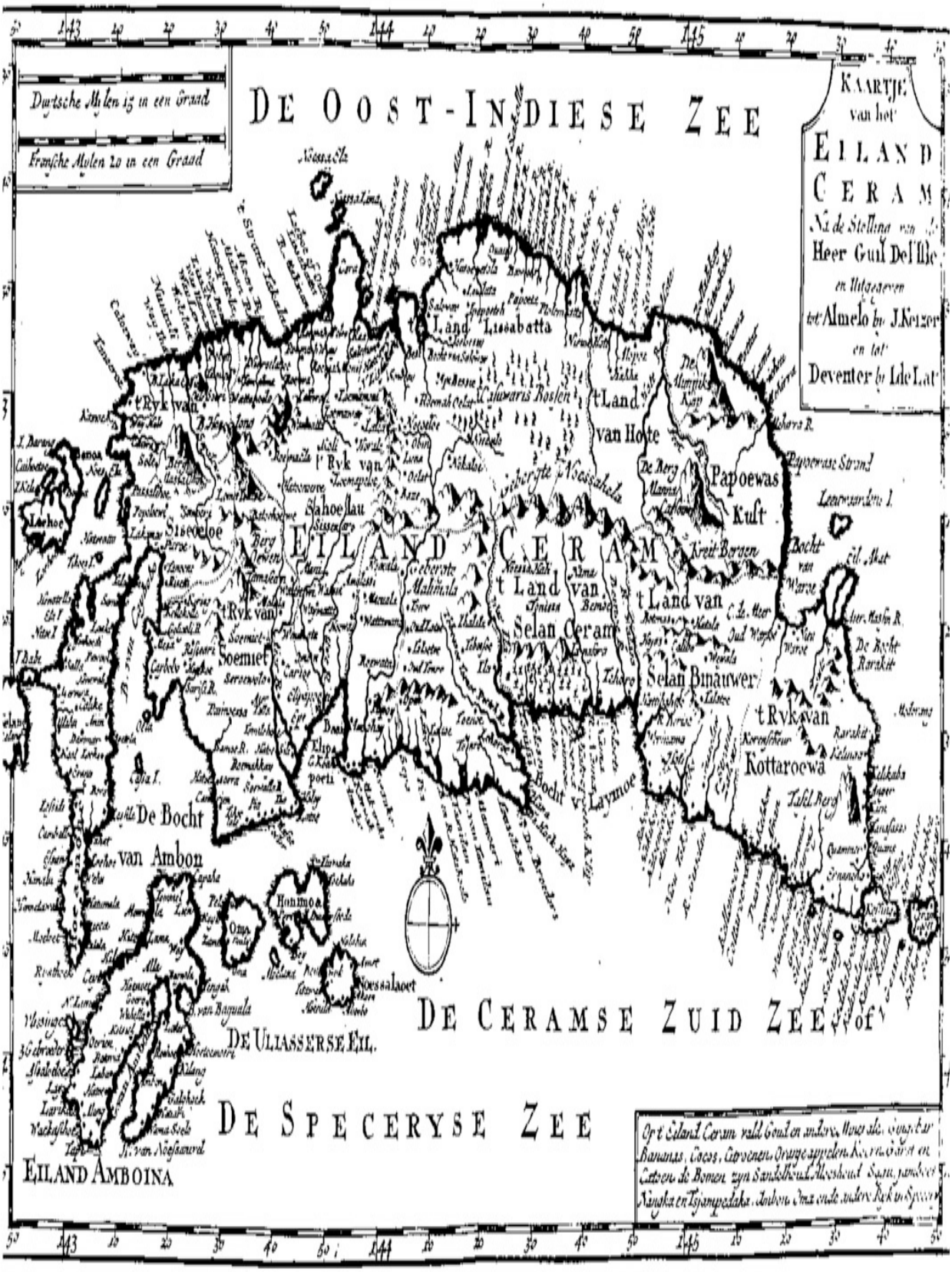

Duytsche Mylen 15 in een Graad
Fransche Mylen 20 in een Graad
DE OOST-INDIESE ZEE
KAARTJE van het EILAND CERAM
Na de Stellinge van
Heer Guil De l'Isle
en Uitgegeven
tot Amelo by J. Keizer
en tot
Deventer by Ide Lat
EILAND CERAM
t Land Lissabatta
t Land van Hoite
Papoewas Kust
t Land van Bemoa
t Land van Selan Ceram
t Land van Selan Binauwer
t Rvk van Kottaroewa
t Rvk van Soemiet
t Rvk van
Sahoelau
Siseeloe
Larhoe
De Bocht van Ambon
Honimoa
Oma
Hoessalaert
Bocht van Laymoe
DE CERAMSE ZUID ZEE of
DE ULIASSERSE EIL.
DE SPECERYSE ZEE
EILAND AMBOINA
Op't Eiland Ceram vald Goud en andere Mineraale Gewassen
Bananas, Coco's, Citroenen, Oranje appelen, Kocos Noten en
Cattoen, de Bomen zyn Sandelhout, Aloeshout, Sago, pandoer
Nanoha en Tsampedaka, Amboin, Oma ende andere Rack in Specer

Figure 2.1 Map of the island of Seram (Ceram) from the *Atlas van Oost-Indien* (Almelo; Deventer) published sometime between 1735 and 1747 by Jacob Keiser and Jan de Lat. It is reproduced here by courtesy of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde in Leiden. Note the location of 'Noeoeloe' and 'Noaoala' in the mountains along the north-south path, which approximately follows longitude 144E. This path was to become the 'post route' during the later Dutch period, sharing the route of what is now the trans- Seram highway between Masohi and Sawai.

was a *kerajaan* (domain of a raja) on the north coast of the island of Ambon. There were some Christians in both Sepa and Tamilouw at this time, though the Dutch East India Company attempted to Christianize Sepa further during the 1660s, which before the conflict was 80 percent animist. At the same time Saleman was attempting to further Islamize it. Groups described as Nuaulu were caught up in the conflict, mentioned as being allied to Sepanese in their attacks on Christians, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were subordinate. They reportedly served as oarsmen in the Sepa *kora-kora* (war canoes), were in alliance with Sepa, Besi, Haya and Teluti against Tamilouw and Saleman, though this may be a corrupt text (Gerrit Knaap, pers. comm.). Leilissa (Laulisa) is mentioned as their leader. When I spoke to Komisi (then chief of the Rouhua Soumori) in 1986 about these sources, he claimed that the Leilissa of the Dutch seventeenth century account must be Peinisa. The Nuaulu are also reported as having fought Tamilouw a few years earlier (taking 10 heads).

François Valentijn's *Oude en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1862 [1724–26]) is often regarded as an unreliable source, a 'slipshod' compilation of other unnamed authorities (van Fraassen 1984: 29), including plagiarism of Rumphius. However, Valentijn too refers to Nuaulu in passages that do not appear to repeat Rumphius. In discussing political episodes relating to Sawai and Saleman between 1671 and 1707, mention is made of the village of 'Noeoloe' and of Opin, Rumah Olat and Besi (Valentijn 1862: 53, 59), and in relation to Sepa there are references to 'Noekauloe' as located in the mountains between Sepa and Besi, 'one and a half days travel landwards' (Valentijn 1862: 63), and of Laulisa (Valentijn 1862: 70). 'Noewahoeloe' is listed alongside the names of other Alifuru[4] settlements, including Lissanitoe, Ilipoy and Opin, which are indicated as being associated with the southern coastal village of Sepa (Valentijn 1862: 85). Elsewhere, there are references to 'Noewolo' and the 'Noewolers' (Valentijn 1862: 247–8).

What little we know from the Dutch records certainly seems to corroborate Nuaulu oral historical evidence for relations with other groups, for locations and for particular events. Komisi told me two stories about the

relationship between the Nuaulu and Tamilouw. In one a person from Tamilouw steals a gourd belonging to a person from Sepa, who call on the Nuaulu to assist them in the war that ensues. In another, the Nuaulu plus the Kunia clan from Sepa are again at war with Tamilouw. Tamilouw captures one Nikita and strings him up. Despite this he escapes and marries a woman from Tamilouw who bears him children. He returns to the Nuaulu, taking a Tamilouw head before he departs. Despite this, Tamilouw is not angry. At this time the only Sepa clan on the coast was Weno, Sepa being earlier located on the river Upa, the clan Kunia coming from a place which now bears that name. Sepa, according to Komisi, mounted an action against Besi and the Nuaulu assisted them in fleeing to the coast, to Makuana. Such stories seem to suggest a sense of Nuaulu collective identity from an early period over and above individual clans.

In a separate set of narratives told by Nuaulu, and also by speakers of other languages of central Seram, many of the present villages of Saparua and Nusalaut find their origins in the central highlands. This is consistent with the overarching histories of most indigenous groups in the islands of Ambon and Lease (Haruku, Saparua and Nusalaut) that claim Seram as their ***Nusa Ina***, their 'mother island' (see e.g. Cooley 1962a), and also with most recent language classifications. Thus, all indigenous languages of Ambon-Lease are Nunusaku-Piru Bay, while languages of Saparua and Nusalaut are in the Seram Straits grouping of East Piru Bay (Atlas Bahasa Tanah 1996). These are today still names of places in the highlands. Present-day Nuaulu claim, for example, that the people of Ouh, Ullath and Nolloth on Saparua (also Pia and Iha on Saparua) came from around the south-central mountain range, current toponyms used by Nuaulu reflect this, and the picture matches what we know from the Keiser and de Lat map.

But to understand further what might have been meant by 'Nuaulu' at the time of Rumphius and Valentijn, and at the time the Keiser and de Lat map was produced, we must also turn to language history. Nuaulu speak an Austronesian language of the Ambon-Timor group. In a previous publication (Ellen 1993: 35–7) I provided a summary of recent attempts to locate the evolutionary position of Nuaulu in relation to other languages, following in particular the work of Collins (1980) emphasizing genetic rather than lexicostatistical relations, and also Bolton (1990). Collins places Nuaulu in his Patakai/Manusela grouping[5] of Nunusaku languages along with those of Piliana and Huaulu. According to Collins, all the historic languages of the

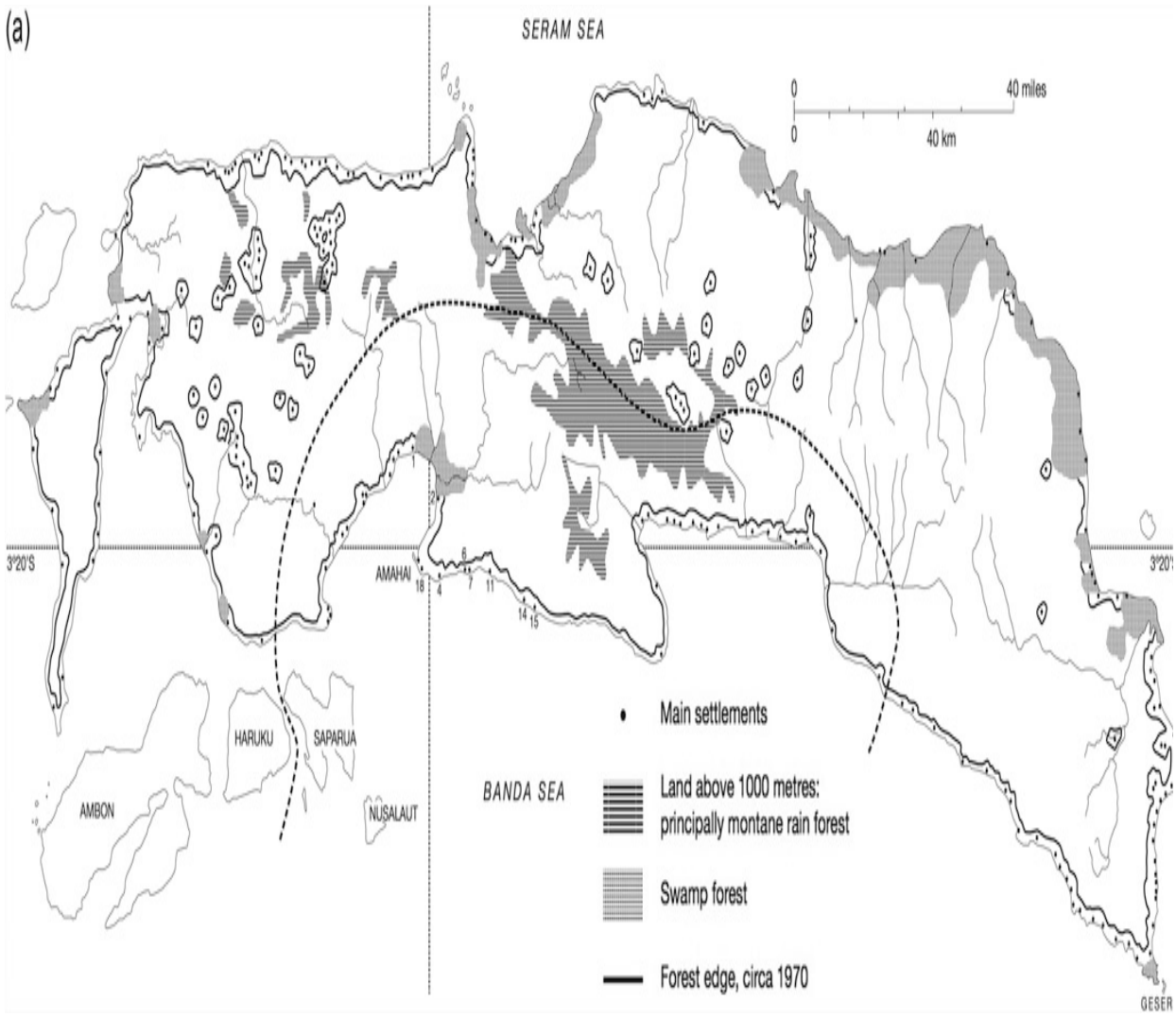
island of Seram can be divided at the highest level into either East Seram or Nunusaku, with Nunusaku comprising all the extant languages of what is now west and central Seram. However, central Seram today also includes Nunusaku languages that Collins describes as Piru Bay, namely the languages of Amahai, Sepa, Tamilouw, Rutah, Soahuku, Makariki, Haya and Tehoru. Since we know from the earliest European records that some of these names were associated with locations on the south-central coast during the sixteenth century, we can reasonably assume that they had migrated from west Seram sometime before 1500.

Further recent work (e.g. *Atlas Bahasa Tanah Maluku* 1996) has adjusted the genetic relationship between languages, and the position occupied by the Nuaulu speech community in relation to other languages of Seram on present evidence. However, it does not appreciably alter the inferences discussed here. Nuaulu today speak what has been described as a Sawai-Nuaulu language, and within this can be divided into South Nuaulu and North Nuaulu on the basis of compatibility tests conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This distinction reflects migratory patterns evident from the second half of the nineteenth century that I discuss further in the next section. Moreover, the distribution of Nuaulu language and its reconstructed history fits well with what we know from other historical sources. We can assume that it has been spoken in much of its present form over the interior of central Seram from Manusela in the East to Elpaputih in the West for at least 300 years. However, the wars of the late seventeenth century over the spice trade led to the displacement of other languages into central Seram that have since complicated the linguistic picture. Thus, we now find that what Collins called ‘Three Rivers’ languages in central Seram (Nuelitetu, Waraka and Yalahatan), were pushed to the East through the disturbances, an inference that fully accords with the oral histories of the Nuaulu and of these communities at the present time. Tongli (1994: 125) notes that Nuaulu will sometimes place themselves in a ***sio naunua*** group that also includes Haruru, Waraka and Yalahatan. Some of the ethnonyms associated with language groups have been mobile since these early forced migrations, with Yalahatan appearing between Makariki and Masohi on Elpaputih Bay on Van Hoëvell’s map before moving to its present location between Tamilouw and Haya on the south coast. This picture, again, is not materially altered by the recent revisions of language classification, except that the language of Nuelitetu is now extinct, and its earlier population displaced in communal disturbances before 1998.

There is also the matter of the division of peoples of the western half of the island of Seram into the groupings Patasiwa (the nine group) and Patalima (the five group). There has been much inconclusive discussion of the historical origins of this distinction, though it is fair to say that at the present time this is hardly relevant to people's lives, except that it is reflected in the way in which Nuaulu (in the Patalima group) quantify ritual transactions of various kinds into units of five. From a historical point of view it is worth noting that Nuaulu language is genetically associated with other languages of central Seram whose populations are also Patalima, while intrusive languages in the Three Rivers grouping are Patasiwa. The dislocation and movement of language groups during and since the seventeenth century resulted in some Patasiwa-aligned groups moving into central Seram. Thus, while Nuaulu, Sepa, Tamilouw and Nuelitetu are all Patalima, Alune and Wemale are Patasiwa. West of the river Uwe, which flows into Elpaputih Bay, peoples were exclusively Patasiwa, including Paulohi and Sahulau on the south coast and Lumamoni-pelu on the north coast. Lisabeta Baru and Saleman on the north coast were Patalima, as of course were Besi and the 'Nuaulu-speaking' villages of Rumah Olat and Opin. Haya and Tehoru on Teluti Bay were Patasiwa.[6]

The situation on Seram, both demographic and religious, had not appreciably changed by 1854, well into the period of the Dutch East Indies government (Figure 2.2), and the beginning of the active work of the Dutch protestant missionary societies. Bleeker (1856: 207–9) provides figures that must have some basis in truth for that part of south Seram within the *afdeeling* (administrative district) of Saparua: Christian 5379, Muslim 5763 and 13,050 'animists'. Van der Crab (1862: 188–9) gives a figure of 164 for Nuaulu compared with 588 for Muslims in Sepa, while Von Rosenberg (1867) provides a figure of 70 for Nuaulu. Both Van der Crab and Von Rosenberg also mention Ileri (Leri) as an Alifuru settlement in the mountains, marked by both Van Hoëvell and Deninger and Tauern on their maps as just north of Sepa. However, this was before Nuaulu concentration on the coast, and therefore, given the wide distribution of clans at this time in hamlets throughout the central highlands, the figure might seem to be a considerable underestimate. On the other hand, elsewhere, Van der Crab (1862: tables of aggregated population figures inserted at the back of the volume) provides an estimate of 10,000 Alifuru in the Saparua district overall, which suggests a more realistic approximation. Although we may

assume head-hunting to have been an intermittent problem for the authorities during this period,[7] Nuaulu are very silent


(a)
SERAM SEA
0
40 miles
0
40 km
3°20'S
AMAHAI
HARUKU
SAPARUA
AMBON
NUSALAUT
BANDA SEA
Main settlements
Land above 1000 metres:
principally montane rain forest
Swamp forest
Forest edge, circa 1970
GESER

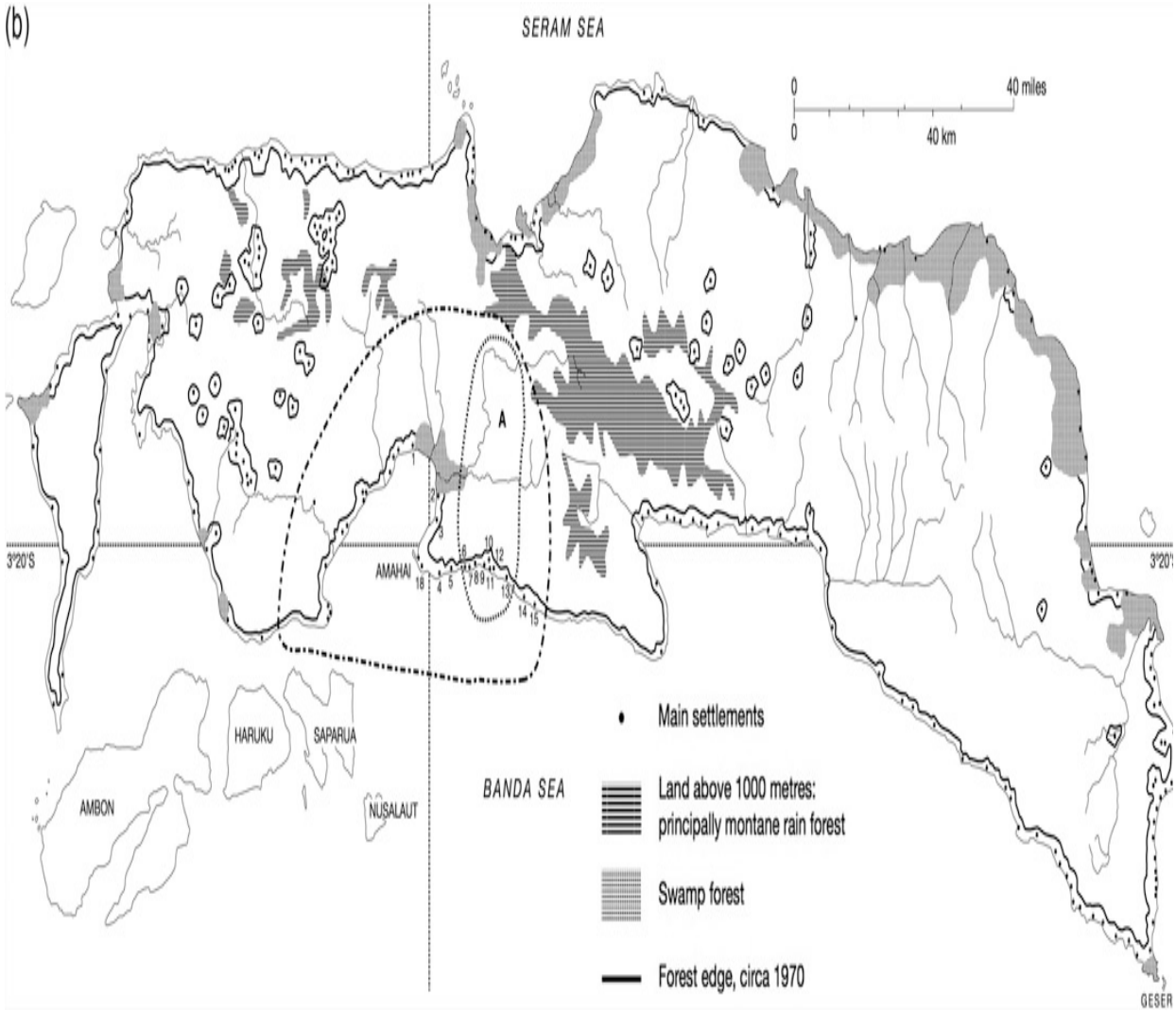


Figure 2.2 Island of Seram showing location of Nuaulu and other places mentioned in the text, and indicating some relevant changes in administrative boundaries between 1856 and 1970: (a) boundary of Saparua *afdeeling* circa 1856; (b) boundary of *kecamatan* Seram Selatan circa 1970, also showing (A) approximate boundary of Sepa *desa*. Key to numbered settlements (Nuaulu settlements in *italics*): 1, Waraka; 2, Makariki; 3, Masohi; 4, Rutah; 5, Yainuelo; 6, Hatuheno; 7, Nuelitetu (abandoned); 8, *Bunara*; 9, *Niamonae (Watane)*; 10, *Aihisuru* (abandoned); 11, Sepa; 12, *Hahualan*; 13, *Rouhua*; 14, Tamilouw; 15, Yalahatan; 16, *Simalouw*; 17, *Tahena Ukuna*; 18, Soahuku; 19, Opin; 20, Besi; 21, Rumah Olat; 22, Saleman. Map adapted from Topographische Dienst 1921, *Eiland Seran en omliggende eilanden* (Scale 1: 500 000), Netherlands Boundary data from field notes, Bleeker (1856) and *Statistik tahunan Seram Selatan*, 1993.

in the record between the early eighteenth century and the early twentieth century; in fact they effectively disappear, from which we may assume they were politically unimportant to the Dutch.

Nuaulu clans and their histories

There are few clues in the history reported so far of the relationship between the term ‘Nuaulu’ and the clan groups that nowadays trace their origin to various places in the central highlands of Seram, east of the Uwe river (which flows into Elpaputih Bay, south of the Lumuti mountain range) and west of the Manusela range. The most economical explanation of present evidence is that what is currently called Nuaulu language emerged as these clans separated from a population with a common genetic origin, but which nevertheless sustained itself as a speech community through ongoing relationships of inter-clan exchange. As we shall see, toponymic and oral historical evidence suggests that clans were widely dispersed, but by the middle of the seventeenth century mainly across the headwaters of the river Nua and surrounding areas, such that the Malay ethnonym ‘Nuaulu’ well enough described them.

Despite apparent continuity in the use of the term Nuaulu as an ethnonym over a period of more than 300 years, Nuaulu history is really the history of its clans, who have always and continue to assert their autonomy. Nuaulu clans are associated with particular locations and territories in the interior, but also have (sometimes complex) histories of movement. Moreover, it is the clans rather than the amorphous overarching ethnic grouping with which they are associated that have often interfaced with the outside world. Thus, many Nuaulu clans have variations of their names in other languages, and particularly in Ambonese Malay, and these are the names often used in official records and in bilingual contexts. Nuaulu accept these names, and use them voluntarily in contemporary contexts (e.g. on identity cards, for purposes of civil contracts of various kinds and in school), even though they may consider them to be, as Saite Soumori reflected in 1990, just ‘mixed up’ versions used in Sepa and elsewhere. Examples of Nuaulu clan names rendered differently in Ambonese Malay and other non-Nuaulu languages (with alternative transliterations) include: Huni (Huri, Hury), Neipani (Laipari, Leipary), Numanaeta (Rumah Lait), Peinisa (Peirissa/Pairisa), Sopanani (Sopanan, Sopalani, Soplanit), Soumori (Somori, Soumory), Sounaue (Sonawe) and Tapinunue (Tapinulu). Other clan names (such as Matoke) are identical in all local languages. The reconstructed location of clan territories and former settlement sites is shown in Figure 2.3.

Some names designating Nuaulu clans also appear in lists for non-Nuaulu peoples, probably as a consequence of historic processes of segmentation, dispersal and subsequent absorption. For example, in 1970 Matoke was a common name in Makariki and some Nuaulu in the 1970 census had married into the clan Matoke in Yalahatan, a ‘Nunusaku Three Rivers’ language, the speakers of which had relocated to the south coast following the Dutch wars of the seventeenth century. Röder (e.g. 1948: 83 and passim) gives Matoke as a term widely found

NUMANAETA
NASINUANTE
Nosa
SOPANANI
NUMUTE
MAWOTI
Sune Marakuti
MATOKE (HANAIE AND PINA)
Kasu
Maiteti
YAMA WUTELA
NOTONE HATAE
Ainakahata
Enihunane
MANIHU
LOPAPULE
MATOKE-MASEKE
PEINISA
SOPANANI
SOUNAUE AINAKAHATA
MATOKE-BINAIYA
Nenenu
Nuku
Nasi
Pisi
Wara-wara
Wasi Tanari
Sopanani
TIHUSAMANE
SOUNAUE-AIPURA
Aipura
Sokonana
Waija
Waraka
Siru
KAMAMA
Nusi
MATOKE-HANAIE
Kawa
Nasi
Ruatan (Nata)
ELPAPUTIH BAY
Makariki
Hanio
SOMAU
Suanaru
Samahua
Wasa Yoako
Nesinopu
Atanupu
MATOKE
HUNI
NUNTE
NEIPANI-NESINOPU
NEIPANI-TOMOIEN
Masohi
SOUMORI
Penenusa
Amasopite
LASA
IHUALA
PIA
NEIPANI-NAHATUE
MATOKE
Lekatuete
Pesi
HATUHAHU
KUNIAMANE
Amatene
Amahai
Kuniamane
Tanil
Lata
BATU
Usa
SAMA
LAHATI
WAKOHI
Sepa
Tamilatu
NEIPANI-TOMOIEN
WAE PUTIH
BANDA SEA
Scale
0
3 Miles
0
5 Kilometres
Land over 1000 m
Partly mettled road
Vehicle track
Southern boundary of Manusela National Park
Approximate boundary between Amahai and Taniwel sub-districts
Nuaulu settlements and settlements with significant Nuaulu populations
Recently abandoned Nuaulu settlement
Known Nuaulu settlements for period prior to movement to Sepa (c.1870)
Other places
Traditional clan areas are marked eg PEINISA
Other toponyms are marked eg HATUHAHU

Figure 2.3 Eastern part of Amahai sub-district, Seram, showing historical, recent and present Nuaulu settlements and other places mentioned in the text. Traditional clan areas are marked, for example, as *PEINISA*; and other Nuaulu toponyms, for example, as HATUHAHU. The numbered locations are as follows (Nuaulu settlements in *italics*): 1. *Simalouw* (Kilo 9); 2. *Tahena Ukuna* (Kilo 12, after 2012 absorbed into *Nuanea*); 3. Hatuheno; 4. Nuelitetu; 5. *Bunara*; 6. *Watane*; 7. *Aihisuru*; 8. *Hahualan*; 9. *Rouhua*.

in the Manusela area as a title for a kind of ritual functionary, particularly one with responsibilities for guarding the *baileo* (AM) sacred house, what Nuaulu call ***suane***. However, he does not list it in his table of clan names (pp. 131–2). Although the list provided here constitutes a settled agreement amongst Nuaulu themselves as to which clans are Nuaulu, it is possible that this picture only emerged slowly over the last 400 years or thereabouts as the clans increasingly interacted through marriage and converged linguistically. Nuaulu share a common east Indonesian preoccupation with clan origins, and this is crucial in understanding how contemporary clans relate in terms of ritual practice and land ownership. Precedence is important, but clans interpret it in different ways, while first-comers may retain an element of symbolic status even if they are later eclipsed in terms political power.[8] All Nuaulu agree that the first clans to arrive in the area around the Nua River, and in the central part of Seram that they presently inhabit, were Matoke-hanaie and Matoke-pina (as set out in a shared creation myth), followed by Neipani-tomoien and Sounaue-ainakahata. After this, there is much variation and disagreement in the order supplied by authorities from different clans, though a widely shared sequence is: Soumori, Peinisa, Huni, Sopanani, Pia, Numanaeta, Tapinunue and Kamama. On the basis of (admittedly sometimes contested and contradictory) oral history, we know something of the distribution of these old clan territories and settlements (Figure 2.3). The following list is by clan name in alphabetical order:[9]

Huni: along the tributary flowing north into the Hono, itself a tributary of the Ruatan: old settlement at Saunahua.

Kamama: said to have originated on the Salawai, a river flowing north into Saleman Bay in north Seram. Kamama itself appears to be the name of a river (Valentijn 1862 [1724–26]: 59). Subsequent sites include Tinauen in the headwaters of the river Nua, and in the hills between the rivers Siru, Ruatan and Nua. The names we have for old settlements include Hatusupa (Tongli 1994: 103) and Hatupatola, situated where Nuanea is now located.

Kunia: inland in the hills between the rivers Upa and Lata, which flow south into the Banda sea: old settlement at Kuniamane.

Matoke: said to have originated on the river Salawai, north Seram. Matoke subsequently dispersed widely. For example, *Matoke-maseke* migrated to the headwaters of the Uwe and Sapalewa, the most westerly of the Nuaulu diaspora, with a common boundary with Sounaue near Waraka on the coast of Elpaputih Bay, and a settlement at Enihunane.

Matoke-binaiya: migrated to the foothills of the Manusela range between Manihu in the west and the headwaters of the river Kawa to the southeast, southwest of Mount Binaya. Nowadays little is known about these groups by Nuaulu living in the Nua-Ruatan area and along the south coast. *Matoke-hanaie* and *Matoke-pina* claim a common origin in the Mawoti area, between Hatu Asinepe and Hatu Kalula, on the edge of what is now the Manusela National Park, with Matoke-hanaie in particular associated with the area between the Nua and the Ruatan near to their confluence. Matoke is also associated with the Ihuala area, above and between what is now Amahai and Masohi, and with the area around the present-day settlement of Nuanea: Yaha, Holo, the tributaries along the west bank of the river Nua at its lower reaches, Eni, and Munahanai. The oldest putative settlements are claimed to be at Mawoti.

[*Neipani*] *Nahatue*: said to have originated near the river Yoni, a tributary of the Pia, which flows south into the Banda Sea; on hills immediately north of the south coast: old settlement at Lekatuete.

Neipani-nesinopu: in the hills between the headwaters of rivers Upa and Pia flowing south into the Banda Sea, and along the Wae Yoko flowing north into the Ruatan; also along the lower reaches of Nua. Old village sites at Aio, Nesinopu, Salawai, Sirukuna and Yayo. Nesinopu sago land at Tihutuhusura was allegedly acquired in return for slaying the seven-headed beast called Makaneusaha.

Neipani-tomoien: said to have originated from Werinama, but long dwelling in the hills of the watershed around the heads of the rivers Lata and Tevi flowing south to the Banda Sea, and in the vicinity of the peaks (***tinetae***) now known as Namanani, Akohi and Satu, eastwards as far as Wae Putih and Lasa and the river Yala (including the large sago reserves at Tapanesi), the present boundary between the Amahai and Tehoru sub-districts: old settlements at Tomoien and Amasopite.

Numanaeta: the village of Roemah Lait near Liang is mentioned by Van der Crab (1862: 229) amongst others, and placed on the northwest coast of Elpaputih Bay in Van Hoëvell's map of 1894, marked 'Lumalaita' on the later map of Deninger and Tauern (Deninger 1914), and is still marked on the Topographische Inrichting map of 1919; old settlements at Enihunane and Mamakoni.

Peinisa: said to be originally from the west, an area near Nunusaku, in this case an actual (rather than a mythical) mountain near Ahiolo, marked on Van Hoëvell's map of 1894; and around Ulate and Lao-Lao on the headwaters of river Nani flowing south into Elpaputih Bay; with old settlements at Penenusa and Hono. Tongli (1994: 201) mentions Tanjung Latu, the cape marking the westernmost cape of Elpaputih Bay, and even suggests an origin on mount Salahutu, Ambon Island.

Pia: the headwaters of the rivers Pia and Yoni flowing into the Banda Sea, with an old settlement site at Amatene, northwest of Rouhua.

Sopanani: west of Peinisa around the headwaters of the river Pia and Siru, the first of which flows directly into Elpaputih Bay and the second of which is a tributary of the Ruatan near its estuary: old settlement at Wara-wara.

Soumori: between the headwaters of the river Pia flowing south into the Banda Sea and the headwaters of the Wae Yoko, a tributary flowing north into the river Ruatan: old settlements at Atanupu, Uwa, Siroi and Maka Upuna.

Sounaue-ainakahata: originally from the river Salawai area, north Seram; subsequently upper reaches of the Nua valley, Lopapule and Neneru tributary: old settlement at Ainakahata.

Sounaue-aipura: middle reaches of the Nua valley, east of that river, in the Sokanana area; Soaalata, Sanesai (Sanese), Silobe, and on the river Sapalewa flowing north into Saleman Bay: old settlement at Aipura.

In 1996 I was able to investigate at first hand some of these putative old village sites, while undertaking ethnobotanical plot surveys to examine current Nuaulu recognition of species, and how the forest had altered since last occupation (Ellen 2010). One local landscape category based on disturbance history is indicated by the term ***nia monae*** (literally, 'old village'). This term may refer to an old settlement that is still inhabited, but also to old settlement sites at different stages following abandonment. Figure 2.3 shows all existing Nuaulu settlements for 1996. In 1996 ***nia monae*** was

also used to describe the site at Aihisuru (marked as an open diamond in Figure 2.3), six years after it had been vacated by clans who moved to what is now Nuanea. Recently vacated village sites are also sometimes known as ***hini nosuna*** ('liberated house posts'), indicating that the timbers have been moved to a new location. The term ***nia monae*** was also applied to two areas surveyed: plot 5 at Besi–Benteng) and plot 11 at Amatene, both about 200 years old, as well as to at least a further seven older Nuaulu settlement sites (marked as empty squares in Figure 2.3), estimated dates since abandonment varying between 120 and 500 years. 'Benteng' (Malay for fort) still displays a ***hatu sine*** (see as follows) and the loose *karang* (limestone) pieces assembled by Besi people to provide protective structures, while the old Sopanani village site is at Wara-Wara, between the rivers Nua and Wae Pia. At the old Soumori village on the Yoko there are still *Areca* palms and durian trees, established by the previous occupants some 120 years previously. In addition to Nuaulu ***nia monae***, there are also many additional sites associated with other language and political groupings, most now located on the coast or extinct. Amahoru, for example, is an old site of a Sepa clan hamlet, but is now mainly covered in *Imperata* grassland. There are also old village sites for the clan Kunia now absorbed into Sepa at Kuniamane, Kunio Besi, Kunio Lohi, and at Kunio Kimatuen. Amatene (plot 11) was presumably vacated in the 1880s and may have been temporarily re-occupied for periods since then, for example during the RMS (Republik Maluku Selatan) insurgency. Its active use today encourages the perpetuation of surrounding resources. Besi and Kunio are from an earlier period, and are now rarely visited for their surviving resources, while the old village of Ouh (which at least 500 years ago moved to the nearby island of Saparua) is now entirely covered in bamboo. I visited Ouh in March 1973 with Naupate, who showed me a ***hatu sine***, that is a stone marker indicating closed forest set aside for harvesting timber and other resources on some future major ritual. The ***hatu sine*** showed evidence of being used for breaking *Canarium* nuts, but according to Naupate the depressions in the stone were ***pakaka***, originally for collecting the blood from a newly-taken head. Once the blood had been drained the head would have been removed to the ***suane*** ritual house. The old Numanaeta clan site at Mamokoni, further inland than Amatene, is renowned for its density of sago. Maka Upuna, an old Soumori settlement (plot 3), lies beyond Sama, while the inhabitants of the old village of Samalo in the area called Sama later resettled in Tamilouw. This historical pattern of upland settlement with a varying population distribution, and

perhaps distributed clan hamlets and more concentrated nucleic refuges, has resulted in complex consequences for historical ecology and continuing patterns of resource utilization.

The colonial era accounts support the idea that settlements in central Seram were more scattered than in the western part of the island, that part generally better described in the early accounts, and where greater demographic concentration was achieved. This appears to be linked to an organized regional hierarchy obtained through the ‘Saniri Tiga Air’ (Knaap 1993; Boulan-Smit 2010). In the Nuaulu area at least, clans were sovereign and there is a continuous history of tension between clans, and between political autarky and concentration. The point is succinctly made by Van Wouden (1968 [1935]: 69), following Tauern (1918: 127 ff), when he describes these as comprising ‘a number of families which naturally were related to each other. Such family groups (“soa”) segmented, when they were large, into several houses, but these continued to maintain their close connexions’.

The move to the coast and its consequences, 1870–1970

As far as can be judged, on the basis of old maps, surface archaeology, oral history and archive material, Nuaulu first ‘permanently’ settled on the coast around 1880.[10] At this time central Seram was still part of the residency of Saparua (Figure 2.2a). Some Alifuru had long been resident in small coastal villages (for example, at Atamanu near Makariki (Crab 1862: 188–9), and even Nuaulu are reported as spending part of the year on the coast (Von Rosenberg 1867: 117). By the late nineteenth century, however, there began a steady abandonment of mountain settlements. The causes of coastalization in particular cases is not always clear, and this is certainly so for the Nuaulu, who had long provided a kind of ‘protective fence’ for the domain of Sepa (Resusun 2012: 35), and for whom trading trips to the coast had long been commonplace. Whether the Raja of Sepa appealed to the Nuaulu to make the move, in response to the Dutch policy of *rust, order en belasting* (peace, order and taxes), or whether Nuaulu sort sanctuary, we cannot be entirely

clear. Certainly, the government was continually concerned to pacify mountain Alifuru groups throughout Seram at this time, to better control and administer them, and Nuaulu were certainly still fighting other groups and engaged in head-hunting. In one version of events, an approach was made by Nuaulu about 1870, when Kamari Kaihatu Tihurua (Tuale) was Raja of Sepa. Nuaulu had avoided earlier attempts to move their settlements as they had no inclination to pay colonial taxes, and sought to retain the freedom to take heads. It is possible that Nuaulu came to the coast as a consequence of – in the 'slip stream' as it were – of the Dutch Huaulu-Wahai campaign of the 1870s, which dispersed settlements and language groups that had hitherto been contiguous, a situation consistent with use of the term *splitterstamme* for Nuaulu by Röder (1948). Some of these events are recounted in the Dutch Mail Reports for 1875, and which mention Bessy, Makuala, and the Alifuru leader Sekanima, though it is possible that these same accounts conflate 'Hoeaoeloe' and 'Noeaoeloe'.[11] Pacification itself had been more-or-less achieved by 1910, such that in 1914 the Dutch considered it possible to withdraw the garrison then held at Wahai (NSID 1918: 21; Seran 1922: 244). Tichelman (1925: 659–61) reports that by 1925 no permanent mountain villages existed in the Amahai sub-district, although some clans periodically occupied highland village sites in a clandestine fashion.

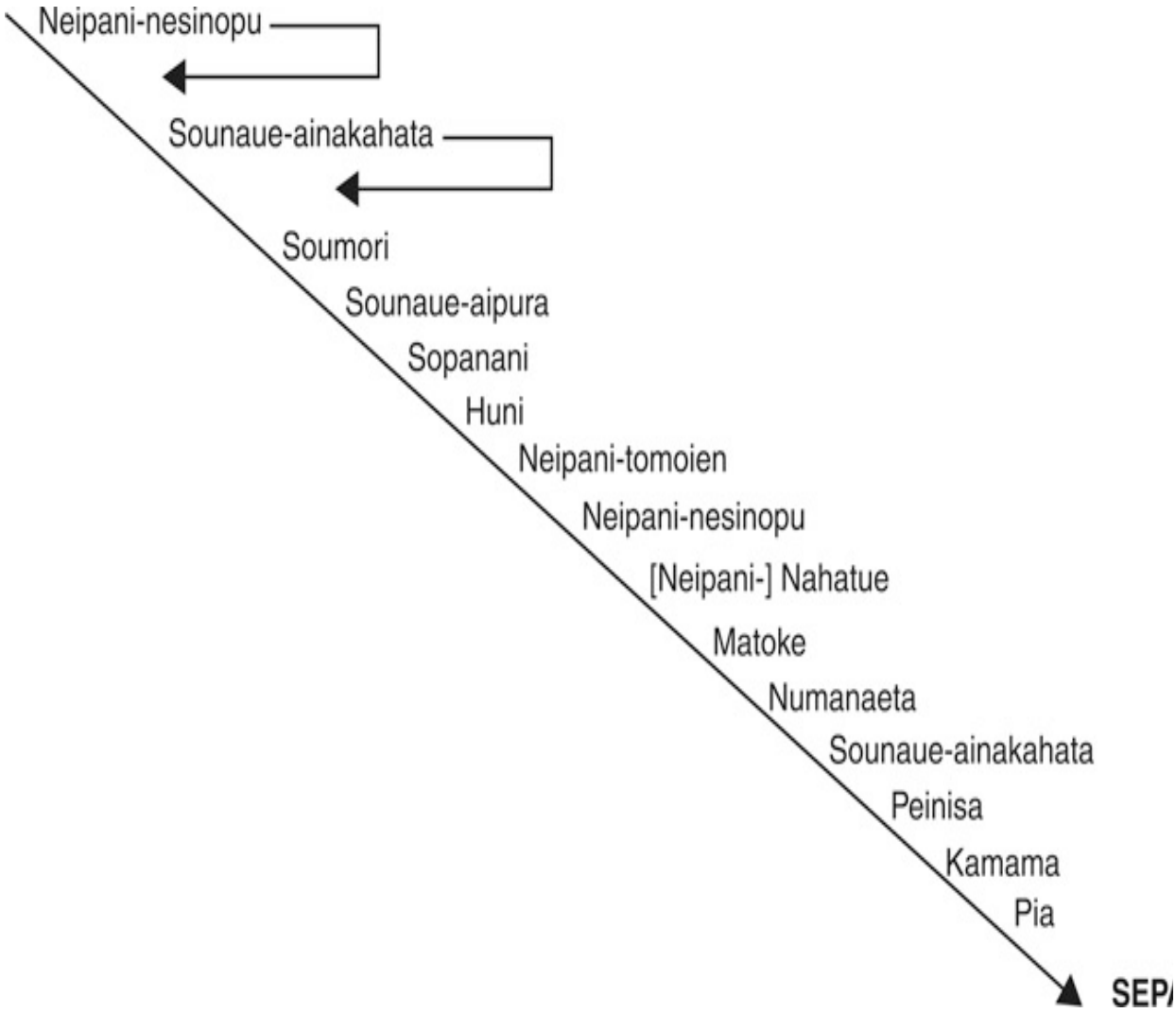


Figure 2.4 Order in which Nuaulu clans resettled in the vicinity of the coastal domain of Sepa around 1870–80.

Narratives concerning the order in which clans moved to the southern coast vary slightly depending on the clan providing the story, and whether the authority is Nuaulu or someone from Sepa. I have collected several narratives from both Rouhua and Sepa and find a good measure of agreement on the basic outline of events, and the sequence in which clans descended. In one narrative provided by Komisi Soumori, the first clan to settle in the vicinity of Sepa was Neipaninesinopu (at Hahualan), followed by Sounaue-ainakahata, but which subsequently returned to the mountains. Soumori was the first to settle permanently, the remaining clans following at the suggestion of the clan head of Soumori: Sounaue-aipura, Sopanani, Huni, Neipani-tomoien (which had moved westwards from the Werinama area), Neipani-nesinopu, and [Neipani-] Nahatue. At this point, Matoke

(which had been specifically invited to move to Sepa earlier) was also eventually persuaded by the resettled clans (or their representatives), followed finally by Numanaeta, Sounaue-ainakahata, Peinisa, the two Kamama subclans and Pia. This sequence is set out in Figure 2.4. I discussed the same episode on two occasions with Adam Tihurua, a respected authority on Sepa *adat* and history, once in January 1981 and again in June 1986. According to Adam, Nuaulu sought sanctuary on the coast from constant fighting. They had first asked the Raja of Tamilouw if they could settle in his domain, a request that was refused. The Raja of Sepa (Kamari Kaihatu Tihurua, otherwise known as Tuale Tihurua) then approached Neipani and said they could settle within the Sepa domain. The sequence of descending clans provided by Adam Tihurua was identical to that provided by Komisi, though with no mention of the early forays by Nesinopu and Ainakahata. Interestingly, he did stress the two Kamama sub-clans from the head-waters of river Nua, and clan Pia. Part of clan Matoke also settled in the Wahai sub-district. He opined that the Nuaulu clans were newly arrived from the mountains around 1870. Tongli (1994: 107, 118–19) provides us with a slight variation on this basic story, in which the clans Soumori and Sounaue-aipura played a prominent initial role in negotiations with the Raja of Sepa, and in which the accord established is described as the ***nuahaton lalato***.

In order to provide a clear line of authority between the Raja in Sepa (with the apparent support of the Dutch administration in Amahai) and the various otherwise autonomous Nuaulu clans, a Nuaulu raja was installed during the time of Raja Hasan Amahoru of Sepa, with overarching responsibility for all Nuaulu clans.[12] Because the head of the clan Matoke was recognized as having mythic precedence (and was primus-inter-pares in certain ritual matters for all Nuaulu clans), the first Nuaulu raja was Tohounu Matoke. He was followed by Nihua Soumori during the time when Nuaulu Lama (Niamonae) was being established, then Sirusou Kamama and Onatu Kamama, and by the 1930s Napuae Sounaueaipura. It was Napuae's eldest son Malaposia, his wife and four children, whose murder in 1917 Tichelman (1925: 679) reports in his account of south Seram, an event that has had repercussions for inter-clan relations down to the present (see Chapter 4). The line was then broken by Napuae's successor Kaune Sounaue, who married a woman from Sepa. In the period immediately following the Second World War the succession was resumed with a second Napuae Sounaueaipura, who was killed during the RMS disturbances. Shortly

afterwards the Raja of Sepa withdrew the right of the Nuaulu to use the raja title, and the position fell into abeyance. An attempt was made to re-establish the raja-ship in 1990 with the appointment of Utapina Kamama, though this status was not recognized by many as his family had married into Sepa, while he had never received a valid *surat keterangan* (SK, 'certificate of authority') from the government. He did, however, become government village head (*kepala kampung*) at Kilo Sembilan, a new Nuaulu settlement in the Ruatan transmigration zone, an area that had been opened-up in the early 1980s. The continuation of the story concerning the struggle to regain Nuaulu autonomy through establishing their own raja will be resumed in Chapter 9, but the reason given by Adam Tihurua for the termination of the line was the unwillingness of Nuaulu rajas to cooperate with Sepa, including travelling from Watane (less than 0.5 kilometer distant) to attend meetings of the *saniri negeri* (AM, 'domain council').

The first Nuaulu settlement on the south coast was what is now called Nuaulu Lama (Niamonae), comprising the hamlets of Watane, Aihisuru and Hahualan. Bunara and Rouhua followed later, definitely after 1918 as neither is marked on the 1919 Topographische Inrichting map. Rouhua was founded in the 1930s, following another dispute, this time concerning a polygynous Sounaue marriage (see also Tongli 1994: 100, 120). Many Nuaulu outside of Rouhua still claim that its founding was unorthodox, in part because their physical separation diminished their Nuaulu-ness. Bunara was not established until the RMS period in the 1950s, following an argument between Matoke and Sounaue-aipura, the latter wishing to build their own ***suane*** (ritual house). For a period of almost 100 years from 1882 there has been little physical movement or change in the number and location of clans. Except for the disturbances occasioned by the Second World War (1942–1945) and the RMS rebellion (approximately 1950–66), the Pax Neerlandica seamlessly merged with the effective writ of the Sukarno and Suharto administrations, freezing the distribution of clans until the 1980s.

Though Table 2.1 lists the main clans relevant to this analysis, it is pertinent to note the existence, until historically recent times, of a few others. Some clans were absorbed into other, non-Nuaulu settlements (such as Sepa), some may have become effectively invisible through conversion, and some have disappeared entirely through demographic collapse. Thus, between 1970 and 2003 two clans were resident in the North Seram settlement of Rumah Olat: Nakana and Makuana. Matoke-maseke moved to Waraka during the late colonial period, and this, interestingly, provided the

link that was crucial in Waraka becoming a refuge for Christian Nuaulu fleeing the Sepa area in 2000 at the time of the communal disturbances. One small clan – Nahatue (with its ancestral settlement at Lekatuele) – had by 1970 merged to become a sub-clan of Neipani in Bunara, while Nunuene – though possibly still present in North Seram – in the south had been absorbed into Kamama. The clan Tapinunue became effectively extinct before the move to the coast, due – it is said – to illness, and producing two few descendants, most of which were female. My records from 1971 contain reference to only one living member of the clan Tapinunue – Suputi – born in 1930 and wife of Hunimura Neipaninahatue in Bunara. The clan Kunia, through conversion to Islam, had long become part of the settlement of Sepa, while Nasinuante became part of Yalahatan (known to Nuaulu as Amanunta), a distinct 'Three Rivers' linguistic group long settled east of Tamilouw. Sopanani-metene is extinct altogether, leaving only Sopanani-putie. The effective mark of extinction is when it is no longer possible to maintain a sacred house, when – as with Tapinunue – the sacra it contains (its plates, bark-cloth and so on) are destroyed. Conversion to Islam or Christianity can also hasten extinction, as although a clan name may persist, those who convert are no longer part of a commensal ritual community engaging in activity to maintain the house and its sacra. If a sacred physical 'house' has no people, its ***monne*** (accumulated material sacra and associated ancestral spirits) have failed.[13]

One immediate consequence of the coastalization policy was that it divided Nuaulu into two groups, those who moved towards the south coast and aligned with Sepa, and those who moved to the north coast and aligned with Saleman. Over time the language spoken in these two groups has diverged such that tests conducted by Rosemary Bolton in 1990 suggested that the two dialects were no longer technically intelligible, with serious phonological, grammatical and lexical

Table 2.1 Distribution and size of Nuaulu clans by settlement: 1971 and 2001 compared

Clans	*Bunara*		*Watane*		*Aihisuru*		*Hahualan*		*Rouhua*		*Simalouw and Tahena Ukuna*		*Total*	
	1971	*2001*	*1971*	*2001*	*1971*	*2001*	*1971*	*2001*	*1971*	*2001*	*1971*	*2001*	*1971*	*200*
Huni	**15**	*66*											15	*6*
Kamama		**00**	**12**	*27*							**00**	*28*	12	*5*
Matoke-hanaie					**24**	**00**					**00**	*66*	24	*6*
Matoke-pina									**28**	*94*			28	*9*
Neipani-nahatue	*25*	*25*	*01*	*01*	*01*	*00*							27	*2*
Neipani-nesinopu							**61**	*180*					61	*18*
Neipani-tomoien	**40**	*142*	**09**	*37*					**54**	*180*			103	*35*
Numanaeta	**08**	**00**									**00**	*16*	08	*1*
Peinisa	**11**	**00**	**22**	*67*					**13**	*60*			46	*12*
Pia	**11**	*55*											11	*5*
Sopanani	**06**	*40*											06	*4*
Sounaue-aipura	**28**	*106*											28	*10*
Sounaue-ainakahata			**18**	*54*	**20**	**00**			**54**	*180*	**00**	*52*	92	*28*
Soumori	**31**	*46*							**31**	*110*	**00**	*80*	62	*23*
Total	**175**	*480*	**62**	*186*	**45**	**00**	**61**	*180*	**180**	*624*	**00**	*242*	523	*171*

Note: Figures in bold are taken from my 1971 field census, from the official local census of 2001 (based on data held in Watane and Rouhua), or otherwise calculated b inference. Figures in italics are best estimates based on data in the Nuaulu census database, house counts and projections derived from aggregated totals. While the aggrega figures for all Nuaulu are likely to be sufficiently accurate, it is difficult to confirm the accuracy of 2001 figures for the smaller clans. Married women are included in the cla of a current husband. Note that there are some corrections and updates to data published in Ellen (2012: 20).

differences. They are listed as separate languages in the SIL *Atlas Bahasa Tanah* (1996: 59–60). The Nuaulu-speaking villages in the north Seram sub-district of Wahai (Figure 2.2) are currently Opin (Openg) and Rumah Olat, comprising clan names that are also found in the south: Huni, Matoke, Neipani, Peinisa, Soumori and Sounaue. Van Hoëvell's 1894 map shows 'Makuala stam' just south of Saleman Bay, in the interior, and in this respect is consistent with Keiser and de Lat (Figure 2.1). Though now entirely Christian, there is continuing contact with southern Nuaulu through

occasional visiting, and some intermarriage: two cases in the Nuaulu census database (Hermanus Alon = Konkonie Neipani, and Daucus Neipani = Naupate Matoke).

Written historical sources are scarce for the period of Nuaulu coastalization, and for the split between southern and northern groups in particular. References to objects from Rumah Olat and Opin in Juynboll's (1930) catalogue of the Leiden ethnology collections do not mention the word 'Nuaulu', but do appear to refer to those groups we so call today. This is not surprising, since Nuaulu quite literally refers to people living on the southern watershed of the mountains of central Seram, and those who had moved to the north coast could not readily be described as such. 'Nuaulu' is a term nowadays applied to the northern groups only by extension because of their language, cultural and social affinities, contemporary Nuaulu speaking of the south-north relationship as ***kaka-wani*** (older sibling – younger sibling), while the description 'Nuaulu Utara' is a modern linguistic convention. Confusingly, Juynboll (1930: e.g. 84) notes that people who settled in Rumah Olat and Opin were 'Patalima-Stamm', thus perpetuating the myth (see e.g. Van der Crab's account (1862: 213)) that Patasiwa and Patalima were tribes rather than loose confederations.

Moreover, in moving to the coast (whether north or south), clans were for the first time living in multi-clan settlements, and this required making practical arrangements for managing common affairs and resources. Formally, this was reflected in the historic agreement (variously described as ***sapanae***, ***kaka-wani***, or ***pena***) that provided the basis for the move to Sepa. While clans continued to assert their independence, compromises had to be made. In some cases individual clans have asserted their independence by establishing separate hamlets. The first of these was Hahualan, which remains physically separate to the present time. Numanaeta moved away from Sepa entirely during the 1980s, and was resident for a time at Rumah Olat. The establishment of new villages, first at Rouhua, then Bunara, then Simalouw (Kilo Sembilan) and Tahena Ukuna (Kilo Duabelas), and most recently Moni, can be seen as being initially assertions of clan autonomy, each being determined to control its own conditions of existence. Even within multi-clan settlements, clans continued to be important organizational units, primarily for ritual matters, but because of this also for the regulation of marriage and the management of economic resources. Within villages, clans also achieved a fair amount of physical separation in terms of location of houses, though pressures on land and other factors have made this

increasingly difficult to sustain. Clans were formerly localized but are now, generally, dispersed within settlement sites. This process of physical concentration, and the compromises it entailed, had major implications for Nuaulu ritual and for their political representation within the domain of Sepa, first for the Dutch colonial administration and thereafter for that of an independent Indonesia. Coastalization also had a major impact on language pluralism. Polylingualism in local languages has long been common among Nuaulu speakers (especially competence in Sepanese) but Malay was rarely used by most people (and especially women) before arrival on the coast.

Serious conversion to Christianity did not make any headway until the second half of the nineteenth century, and for the most part not until the early decades of the twentieth century (Ellen 2014). At this time, marriage alliances could be forged, rituals performed and clans and houses reproduced with relative ease because there were a larger number of animist Nuaulu clans. There is no reason to believe that marriages with cross-cousins were any more frequent at this time than they are today, as clans were unlikely to have been any more fecund. However, as coastal Nuaulu clans converted to both Christianity (through absorption into Hatuheno and Nuelitetu) and Islam (through absorption in Sepa, Tamilouw and Rutah) so the likelihood of repeat marriage into the same clan actually increased, though overall demographic decline made ritual reproduction more precarious. The Nuaulu population must have declined considerably between 1880 and 1970, and the period 1950–70 might be regarded as a bottleneck of low population, some clans and houses merging or disappearing altogether, with some real risk of collapse of the entire Nuaulu ritual system, and therefore of Nuaulu identity more generally. Around 1970, the population began to rise again.

At the time of my initial fieldwork in 1970–71, Nuaulu clans were distributed between five main physical settlements: Watane, Aihisuru, Bunara, Hahualan and Rouhua. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of Nuaulu clans by settlement in 1970 and 2001, together with estimated population numbers. As we have already noted, Watane, Aihisuru and Hahualan appear to have been established soon after the arrival of the first clans, Rouhua in the 1930s and Bunara more recently. As a consequence of government transmigration policy in the 1980s opening up the Ruatan valley for settlement, combined with road-building, some Nuaulu clans (Matoke, Sounaue-aipura, Kamama and Peinisa) moved from the area around Sepa, first to Simalouw (Kilo Sembilan) in 1984 and thereafter in 1988 to Tahena Ukuna (Kilo Duabelas, Tana Mera). Aihisuru was abandoned. Simalouw and

Tahena Ukuna, in fact, structurally replicated the old relationship between Watane and Aihisuru (Asuru).[14] The fall of the New Order regime and the administrative chaos and communal conflict that ensued in Maluku has only exacerbated this. By 2008 the new Ruatan settlements had been recognized by the government as a new autonomous *desa* – Nuanea – a development that we shall return to in Chapter 9. Before 1980 Muslim and Christian converts generally moved into existing Muslim and Christian villages, such as Hatuheno and Nuelitetu (Christian) and Sepa and Rutah (Muslim). The growing Christian population in Rouhua after 1980 led to the establishment of a small settlement 1 km east of Rouhua at 'Persusahaan', the site of an old Filipino logging camp. Mainly following the communal religious conflict of 1998–2002 and the destruction of Perusahaan, the Christian Nuaulu village was relocated to near Waraka as 'Rouhua Baru'. The population of Rouhua Baru in 2015 was around 100.

Clans and access to land at the present time

The movement of most Nuaulu to the south coast during the late nineteenth century led to a fundamental separation between land and clan. While in the highlands each clan was located within its own territory; in moving to the coast that land was now, for many clans, too distant to be used on a regular basis. True, such land would occasionally be visited to obtain sago and other forest resources, but the land on which the new settlements were built belonged to Sepa clans, and swiddens that were cut on land over one kilometer from the coast, while on Nuaulu land, were on the land of just a few clans (Figure 2.3). In the vicinity of Rouhua this was land mainly owned by Neipani-tomoien, while in the vicinity of the older villages around Sepa, land belonged to Neipani-nesinopu, Pia, Soumori and Neipani-nahatue. This was the land easily accessible on a day-to-day basis. In order to use such land an accommodation had to be reached between the clans and the spirits of the relevant ancestors to make this possible. Even so, when new land was cut the rituals required involved seeking permission from the relevant clan ancestors. Access to Matoke, Peinisa, Sopanani or other clan lands was more difficult, taking a day or sometimes more to reach.

With the opening-up of the Ruatan transmigration area and the establishment of vehicular access during the 1980s, the journey took less time, and Nuaulu could access resources, particularly sago. It was this new-found access that fuelled the political will to first return to the Nua-Ruatan area, and then seek to establish an autonomous Nuaulu jurisdiction. Thus, while for some clans the link with their own land was for almost 100 years largely theoretical, recent developments have made it real again. However, despite use of land ultimately belonging to some other clan, once cut for a swidden the land was effectively treated as that of the occupying clan, and inherited through the male line. I have explained elsewhere (Ellen 1977) how rights in land were expressed serially at clan, household or individual level. Sacred houses constituted as 'descent groups' within clans did not own land as such beyond the land held by the individual households and patrilines that constituted them, though land could be allocated by clan heads for protected areas of forest (***sin wesie***) to provide resources for rebuilding sacred houses.

Notes

1 The records of the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC: Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) provide us with the earliest references to the Nuaulu in a report by Anthonio Hurdt, Governor of Ambon in 1678 'Kort berigt bij forme van memorij' dated 31 May (ARA VOC 13334 fol. 653v–671v) where 'Noeaulo en Obijn', and later Besi, are described as assisting Sepa in tracking down the rebel Pelemahu. See also Rumphius (1910) and Ellen (1988).

2 Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague: VOC 1293 (f.176r, 184r), 1317 (f.200r-v, 203r-v, f.71), 1344 (f.56), 1368 (f.40v) and 11245 (Rumphius, *Landbeschrijving* 130–1).

3 On *pela* in the central Moluccas, see Bartels (1977).

4 A term widely found in the literature referring to animist (generally inland and mountain) peoples of Seram, and other parts of eastern Indonesia, and still current in certain contexts (Ellen 2014: 256–7).

5 'Patakai' was used by Stresemann (1927) to designate the language and culture of the Nuaulu (both north and south) in what must be the first serious attempt of linguistic classification for Seram. The term is used in the same sense by Tichelman (1925: 682).

6 The definitive description of the Siwa-Lima system we owe to Tauern (1918). Duyvendak (1926) analyzed the problem from a Durkheimian perspective, concluding that it represented the traces of two archaic moieties. Others (including Cooley 1962b: 13–18) have ascribed to it an origin in the political outreach of the sultanates of Ter-nate and Tidore. The matter is far from settled (Ellen 2003: 34–5), but perhaps is most conveniently and provisionally described as an inter-domain 'confederal order' (Valeri 1989: 121) cemented by a common set of ritual traditions.

7 But see 'Memorie nopens den tegenwoordigen staat van 's companies zaken', a report by Bernardus van Pleuren in 1785 (ARA VOC 3684 fol. 2249r–2319r).

8 For a masterly account of a preoccupation with clan origins in a society of Timor, and on the significance attached to returning to a ‘source’ (a theme important when understanding the recent Nuaulu political renaissance), see Lewis (1988). On shifting patterns or precedence and origin, including how this can confuse and conflate clan alliances, see Fox (1996, 1999: 149; also Bovensiepen 2015: 34).

9 Many of the river and place names are mentioned on sheets VII and VIII (Amahai and Tamilau/Tamilouw) of the Topographische Inrichting 1917 survey (updated 1922), *Schetskaart van Ceram* (Scale 1:100,000), Batavia. Despite recent mapping informed by satellite imagery, this series still provides the most detailed maps we have of Seram. It is clear that in central Seram surveyors must have worked closely with Nuaulu guides, given the inclusion of many toponyms specific to Nuaulu and the use of Nuaulu-specific landscape terminology (e.g. ***tinetae***, mountain; ***pupue***, hill).

10 This date refers to the establishment of the first formal administrative districts by the Dutch (Sachse 1907: 33).

11 Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), The Hague, Netherlands, Ministerie van Koloniën (MINKOL), Mailrapporten (Mail Reports): 1875, 6367–226, 271, 394, 446, 500, 530.

12 As we have seen, Nuaulu had hitherto exhibited only a limited and intermittent degree of political centralization, comprising rather an assemblage of exchanging corporate descent groups. In this respect, they are like the Ata Tana ‘Ai described by Lewis (1988: 14) for Flores. Neither was there stratification, only clan precedence and relative ranking. Like the Ata Tana ‘Ai, Nuaulu trace their origins to local island interiors rather than to incomers from overseas; and although they claim to have a ‘raja’, in practice for long periods there has been a political vacuum. But while Nuaulu live in an endogenous world where hierarchy is structurally weak, and where it does emerge contested, it is hierarchy that has historically governed their relations with outsiders.

13 There are some accounts of the merging of clans due to demographic depletion from other parts of eastern Indonesia, such as Sumba (e.g. Needham 1987: 96–8).

14 This pairing of villages is similar to the ‘double settlements’ described by Forth (2001) for the Keo of Flores. In the Nuaulu case, however, there is just the one pair established when Nuaulu first arrived on the southern coast, which at that time encompassed all clans in a reciprocal ritual relationship. By the time the successor villages (Simalouw and Tahena Ukuna) were occupied in the Ruatan valley locations, there were other Nuaulu settlements that violated this conveniently symmetric ritual relationship.

3
Descent, duality and gender

Clan organization and segmentation

Between the mid-seventeenth century and circa 1880, Nuaulu lived in clan-based hamlets distributed throughout the highlands of central Seram. Although we cannot assume that the social organization within and between these settlements remained the same over a period of 200 years, in Nuaulu villages of 1970 there was clearly a sufficient measure of generational overlap and oral continuity between clan elders and their deceased relatives who had known life in the mountains, to make this claim credible. For example, we know that Komisi Soumori's grandfather lived at Atanupa on the river called Upa (one of several with this name) that flows northward into the Ruatan valley, and that his great-grandfather experienced heavy fighting between Sepa and Soumori in which Soumori were almost entirely wiped out. Such continuity allows for a certain degree of tentative historical reconstruction (Figure 3.1).

We know, for example, that descent was patrilineal, simply meaning here a pattern of alignment in which male ancestors can be traced, or from which a sequence might be inferred. We can also presume that most settlements comprised a single exogamous clan or sub-clan. Most of these likely consisted of two ***numa monne*** (sacred houses), headed by two leaders: a clan chief (***ia onate***) responsible for the ***numa onate*** and a ***kapitane*** (war leader) responsible for a ***numa kapitane***, each in a complementary diarchic relationship. However, other settlements may have consisted of a single ***numa monne***, as is the case for some sub-clans today. Before coming to the coast it is widely assumed by Nuaulu themselves that it was permissible to marry within the clan, as individual clans were in a constant state of

potential war, possibly with sacred houses exchanging spouses. There is some dispute as to whether each clan had its own ***suane*** or *baileo* (AM), a shared sacred house over and above the individual ***numa monne***, and which was the focus of ritual for the settlement as a whole (Ellen 2012: 225–50).

I have described the basic units of Nuaulu society thus far as ‘clans’, but in order to make sense of their relationship to each other we need to define our terms of reference more precisely, and be explicit about the model being used (Figure 3.2). What Nuaulu call ***ipane***[1] is usually described in local Ambonese Malay as *soa*.[2] In fact, on several occasions Adam Tihurua, a ritual elder of the Muslim village of Sepa, when discussing the historical relationship between Sepanese and Nuaulu clans during the 1970s, used the hybrid term *soa-ipan*, and used it exclusively for clans.[3]

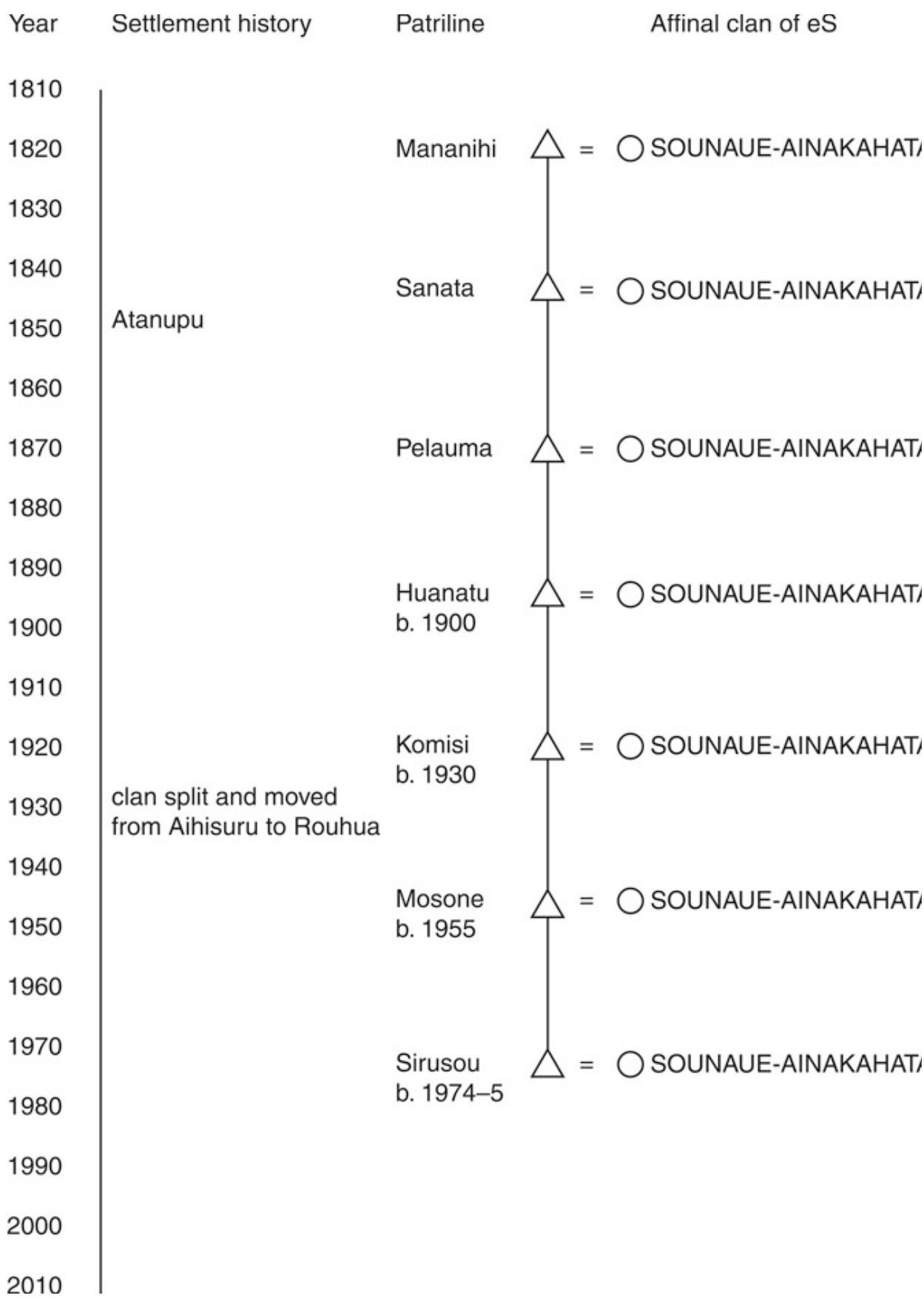

Year
Settlement history
Patriline
Affinal clan of eS
1810
1820
1830
1840
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
1930
1940
1950
1960
1970
1980
1990
2000
2010
Atanupu
clan split and moved
from Aihisuru to Rouhua
Mananihi
Sanata
Pelauma
Huanatu
b. 1900
Komisi
b. 1930
Mosone
b. 1955
Sirusou
b. 1974–5
= SOUNAUE-AINAKAHAT/
= SOUNAUE-AINAKAHAT/
= SOUNAUE-AINAKAHAT/
= SOUNAUE-AINAKAHAT/
= SOUNAUE-AINAKAHAT/
= SOUNAUE-AINAKAHAT/

Figure 3.1 Senior patriline for Rouhua Soumori in relation to reconstructed settlement history, based on information provided by Komisi (in 1971) and Mosone (in 2015). Estimated generational distance approximately 25 years.

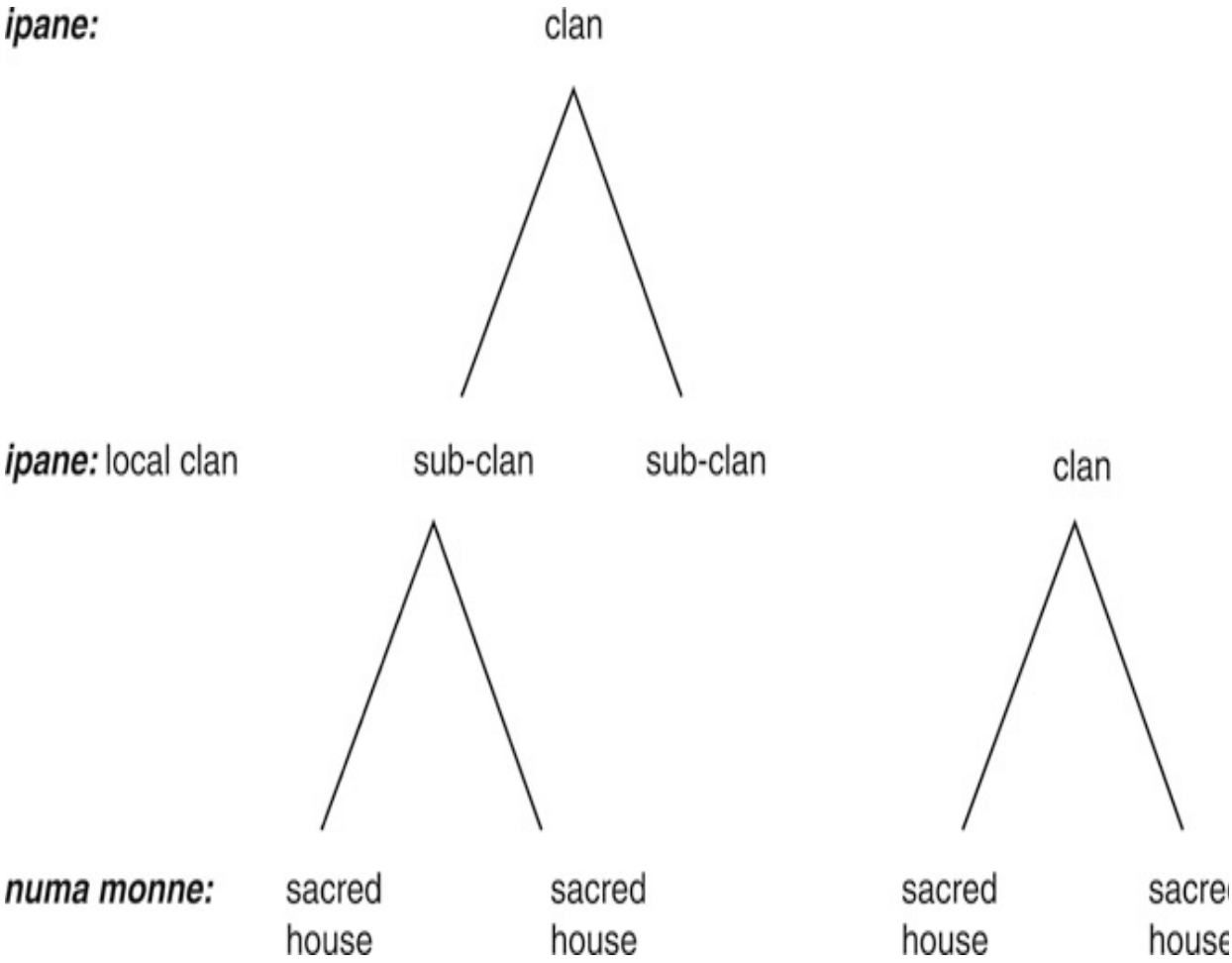


Figure 3.2 Model of nested relationships between kinship units of various degrees of inclusiveness.

The ***ipane*** may be summarily described as a named clan (or sub-clan) associated mythologically with a traditional place of origin. It owns property consisting of cleared land and secondary growth forest, fishing locations and hunting territory; and is headed by a male chief descended, at least theoretically, in the most senior genealogical line from the founding male ancestor. The ***ia onate ipan*** is regarded as the custodian of resources for the whole clan. As such, in former times as now, it was his duty to perform the necessary rituals concerning the extraction of these resources at the appropriate season. In this position, he received a certain specified portion of all game caught by clan members. While ***ia onate*** and ***kapitane*** are not

interchangeable in terms of either status or role, both are equally necessary for the well-being of the clan.

As can be seen from Table 2.1, there is considerable variation in clan size over time. Where clans have grown and their members moved, these have segmented – though segmentation is not simply a mechanical function of demographic growth. Evidence of segmentation is found in the construction of clan (or sub-clan) names. For example, Matoke-hanaie and Matoke-pina, Sounaue-aipura and Sounaueainakahata, and Neipani-tomoien and Neipani-nesinopu, all derive from Matoke, Sounaue and Neipani, respectively. We can assume that these clans date from a period before 1880 as the suffixes (except in the case of Matoke) indicate the names of long-abandoned settlement sites in the mountains. We might also suppose that these suffixes once referred to physically autonomous 'sacred houses' (***numa monne***).

Each Nuaulu clan is usually and ideally a diarchy of two equal, reciprocally exchanging, sections or 'sacred houses', and I will have more to say about these as ritual and kinship units in Chapter 4. We cannot know with any certainty how the diarchic system arose, but it was presumably the consequence of clan segmentation, of which we can identify several kinds (Figure 3.3). However, it is not possible for contemporary ***numa monne*** to trace ancestral links genealogically connecting living persons in different houses to a common clan ancestor. This is also the case for those sub-clans that already existed at the time Nuaulu moved to the coast. We cannot, for example, trace genealogical connections between Neipani-tomoien and Neipani-nesinopu, or between Sounaue-aipura and Sounaueainakahata, although the latter pair is often referred to using the ***kaka-wani*** (elder sibling – younger sibling) expression. In these cases neither can we be certain that there ever were common lineal ancestors. However, in the case of clans that segmented after coming to the coast we have clearer genealogical evidence: for example, the clan divisions which accompanied the establishment of the settlement at Rouhua: of Matoke into the sub-clans Matoke-hanaie (Aihisuru) and Matoke-pina (Rouhua), and of Peinisa into the ***numa*** Tehu Nohi (Watane) and Numa Nohi (Rouhua). Each of these new local groups was previously ***numa monne*** of one local clan. A more recent example of separation, occurring between

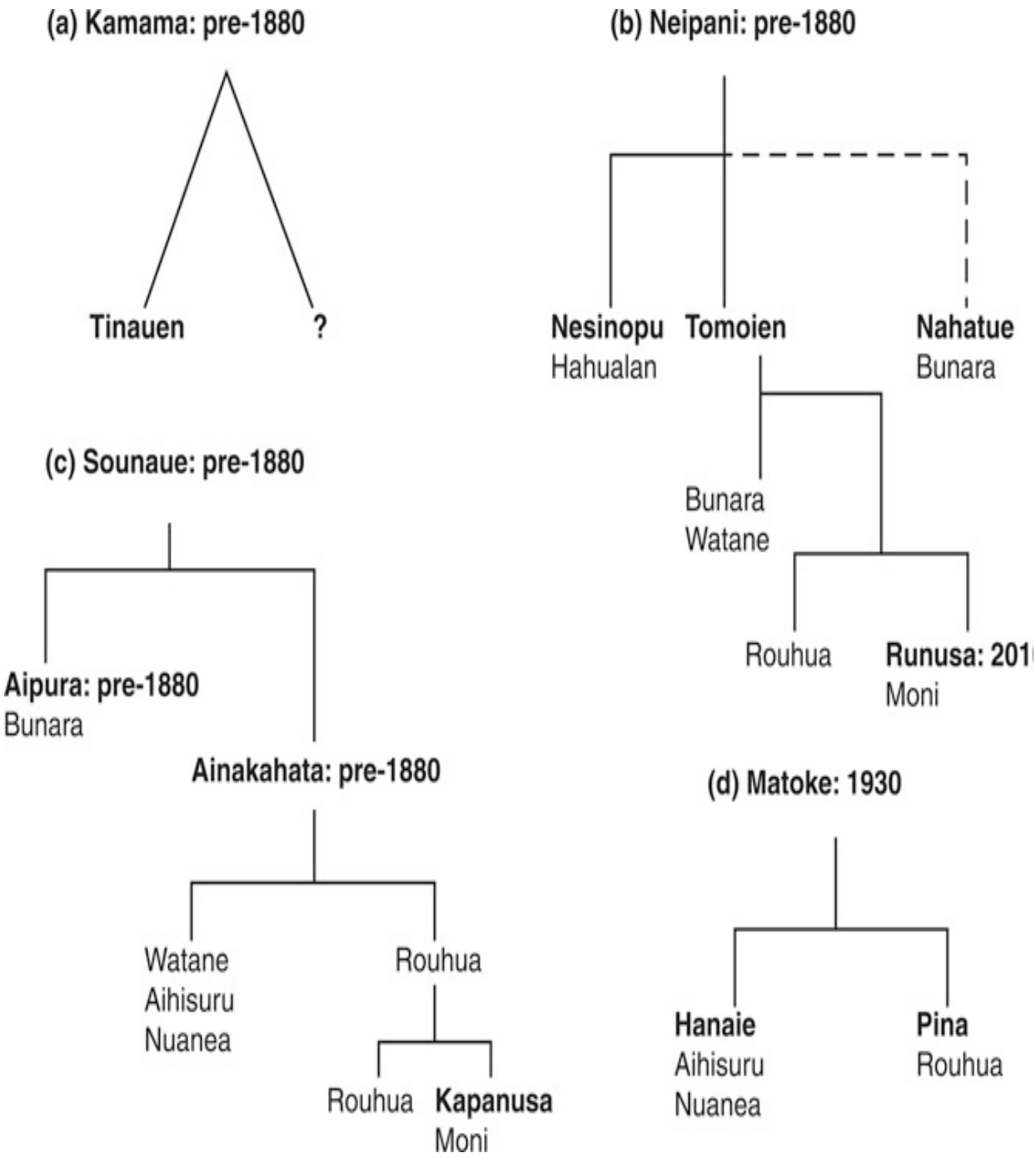


Figure 3.3 Types of clan segmentation. Key: clan and sub-clan names in bold (e.g. **Neipani, Nesinopu**), settlement names in plain (e.g. Bunara, Moni).

2001 and 2015, is that of Sounaue-kapanusa, formed by breaking away from Sounaue-ainakahata, though both sub-clans have so far remained within the jurisdiction of the village of Rouhua (Figure 3.4). In this case, a dispute between, on the one hand, a new clan chief (Numapena) and a new ***kapitane*** (Anarima),

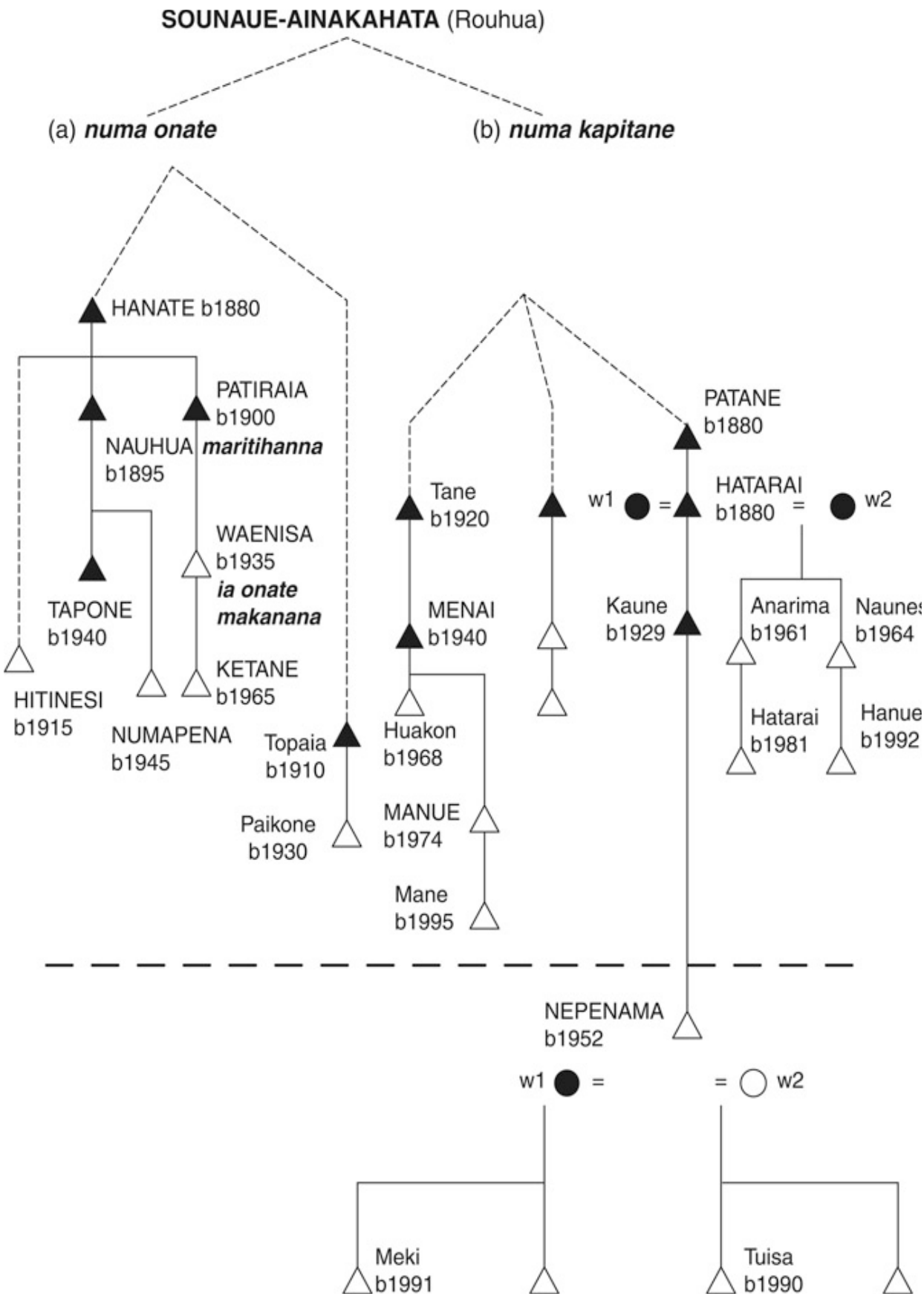

SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA (Rouhua)
(a) numa onate
(b) numa kapitane
HANATE b1880
PATIRAIA b1900
NAUHUA b1895
maritihanna
WAENISA b1935
ia onate makanana
TAPONE b1940
KETANE b1965
HITINESI b1915
NUMAPENA b1945
Topaia b1910
Paikone b1930
Tane b1920
MENAI b1940
Huakon b1968
MANUE b1974
Mane b1995
PATANE b1880
w1 = HATARAI b1880 = w2
Kaune b1929
Anarima b1961
Naunes b1964
Hatarai b1981
Hanue b1992
NEPENAMA b1952
w1 = = w2
Meki b1991
Tuisa b1990

Figure 3.4 Genealogical connections and the process of clan segmentation: Sounaue-ainakahata and the creation of Sounaue-kapanusa (below broken line) in Rouhua. The data are for 2015, showing selected patrilineal relationships. Those holding sacred house guardianship titles appear in capitals (e.g. PATIRAIA).

and on the other, one descent line (that headed by Nepenama) within the ***numa kapitane***, led to the separation of that line and the creation of a new ***numa onate***, described as an *aliran baru* (a new stream) in Indonesian. This left the greater part of the ***numa kapitane*** and all of the ***numa onate*** still within the jurisdiction of Ainakahata. However, discrete physical separation of parts of a clan in different settlements does not in itself indicate the appearance of a new (segmented) clan. Thus, there is no name (other than the names of the component houses) to distinguish all Peinisa living in Rouhua from those Peinisa living in Niamonae.

In the largest and most inclusive named clans (e.g. Sounaue, Matoke, Neipani), and even in most sub-clans (Sounaue-ainakahata, Neipani-tomoien), genealogical connections between descent lines in different ***numa*** cannot be traced, though members recognize common blood and an ultimate totemic ancestral figure legitimated through myth, while individuals may refer to and address each other using kinship terms. Both clans and sub-clans are exogenous and sub-clans may have different esoteric knowledge and traditions from other sub-clans within the same clan. House orientation in Sounaue-aipura, for example, is diametrically opposite to that in Sounaue-ainakahata. A sub-clan can usually be traced to a village name and thus was originally defined by locality. Economic obligations obtain within the clan: food must be distributed in a prescribed way; clan members should help each other out with regard to hunting, sago, garden and other work. In the sung verse form known as ***ahinae monne***, clan and sub-clan names feature as part of a narrative of topogenic precedence, though at the times to which the verses refer what are now clans could well have been houses. Particular ***ahinae*** may belong to particular clans.

Clans are now geographically dispersed in different villages, although considerable authority – mainly ritual authority – is still vested in the person of the clan chief. Each clan possesses various kinds of sacra protected in its constituent sacred houses, which can be divided into two types. Firstly, there are those objects that Nuaulu largely produce from their own local resources, such as barkcloth used in previous male puberty and installation ceremonies, and baskets used in previous female puberty ceremonies, shields, and the

jawbones of hunted game (***penesite***). Once lodged in the roof space these objects are only removed when they or the sacred house itself has to be replaced. Otherwise they remain until they decay. For this reason they might be said to objectify the principle of descent, and to underpin through their continuity, the social reproduction of sacred houses, which are unable themselves to biologically reproduce. Secondly, there are archaic plates (***piruna***), gongs and other metal objects, textiles and the like, which are acquired from the outside world through exchange, typically through marriage. In contrast, their circulation permits biological as well as social reproduction at the clan level, and underpins clan alliances. Like sacred houses, the objects are associated in legend and history with particular localities. For the most part both these categories of object are hidden in the lofts of sacred houses, only occasionally removed for ritual purposes, and most dramatically so when they are transferred from an old to a new sacred house, at which time they are paraded from one to the other, visible demonstrations of the principles they embody

To a considerable extent the clan regulates marriage, which as we have seen is exogamous, approving and disapproving certain unions, though occasionally may be divided on such issues. In certain instances – especially where ***monne*** observance (conducting rituals, respecting prohibitions, behaving in certain prescribed ways) is at stake – the whole clan must bear the responsibility for making amends if one of its members commits a wrong against a person of another clan. But by the same token, a person's clan is his or her first line of retaliation if a wrong is committed against them by a non-clan member.

Where only one sub-clan of a particular clan is represented in a village, this assumes the same functions as a clan and, indeed, in all matters it assumes the same rights and duties as the clan as a whole. It holds land, theoretically corporately, but within reason, members can arrange their land affairs as they choose. Local clans are responsible for organizing all economic activity relating to major ritual, especially that related to the building and repair of sacred houses, and the organization of life-cycle rituals.

In order to understand anything connected with Nuaulu kinship, politics and ritual it is important to recognize the autonomy of the patrilineal clan and the variations between them in terms of demography, history and cultural practice (see also e.g. Molnar 2000: 97–8). Indeed, in many ways, Nuaulu identity as a whole might most accurately be expressed as 'a

consensual federation of originally separate and autonomous groups' (Valeri 2001: 293). In Nuaulu representations, clans and the houses that comprise them are more than the sum of their biological parts: their essence lies in the sacred houses that they maintain and in the objects (***monne***) and ancestral spirits that the sacred houses protect. But when the last individual person dies, so does the ***monne***, and the spirits of the clan become homeless. Thus, the imminence of clan or sacred-house 'death' stresses the importance of individual biological reproduction to ensure social continuity, as discussed in *Nuaulu Religious Practices*. Moreover, when clans or sub-clans merge – as with Nahatue (to form a sub-clan of Neipani) and Sopanani-putie and Sopanani-metene to form a single Sopanani entity, this is a kind of structural counterbalance to segmentation. For the Nuaulu its occurrence is a vivid reminder, reflected in much of their ritual, that the very existence of clans is threatened by the vicissitudes of low birth rate and high mortality.

However, the default position is the considerable autonomy that individual clans have, not only in matters regarding ritual (though particularly in regard to such matters), but in regard to other forms of social action and cultural practice as well – a situation well summed up in the proverb ***ipane osa nene***, ***mansia panesi***, 'one clan, many people'. Looked at historically, not only do Nuaulu clans continue to exercise considerable autonomy in matters of settlement, showing evidence of segmentation and division, but to some extent the data also imply the category 'Nuaulu' to be flexible over the long term, despite evidence of use of the ethnonym by Sepa and other outsiders as early as the late seventeenth century.

Lines and lineages

If I might be excused for raising later in this chapter the subject of double descent – which for many belongs to an earlier phase in the history of kinship theory – it might equally be considered impolite to re-open what we mean by descent in the first place. Fox (1980b: 331) has suggested that descent does not provide an altogether satisfactory concept for comparison in an eastern Indonesian context, and the notion of 'descent group' in particular could well be thought obsolete and uneasy when applied to the Nuaulu clan.[4] Indeed, Bolton (1997b: 34, 1999b) prefers to avoid the term

descent altogether, preferring ‘affiliation group’. But as we have seen, descent is traced, and for the most part evidently through the male line. It is this that gives offspring of either sex their primary natal identity and predominant moral allegiance. Their clan is also the source of their group name (that of their clan, sub-clan and house), as well as their given personal names, as we shall discover in Chapter 5. It also gives them their primary access to land and other resources. The problem we now need to examine, however, is that while the concept of descent is an important one for Nuaulu, both in theory and in practice, genealogical knowledge of ancestral connections ordinarily only extend back three or four generations.

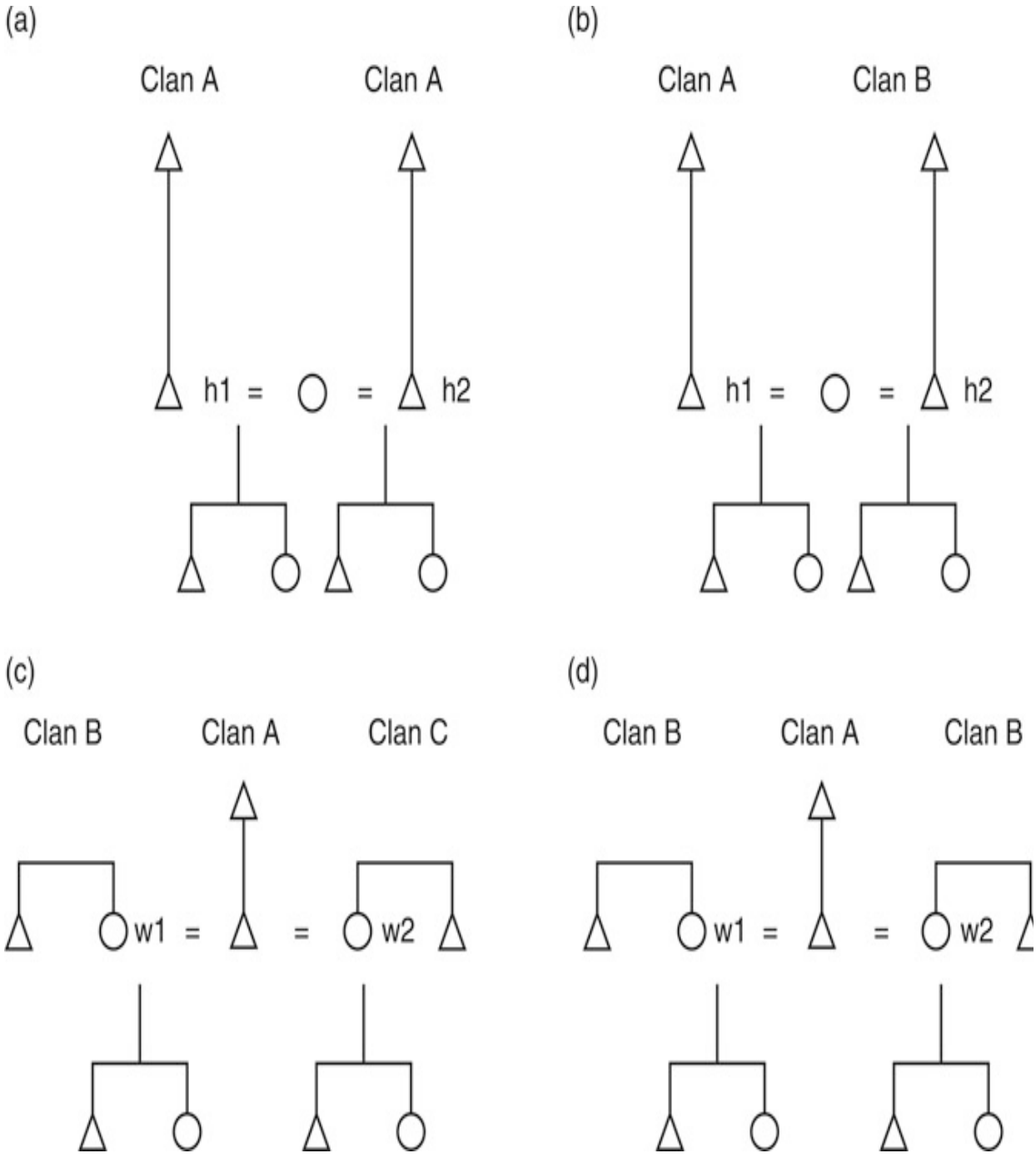


Figure 3.5 Implications for tracing descent in different scenarios of remarriage.

Although (as I shall demonstrate at some length later in this chapter) there is little recognition of the line of descent of the parent to whose clan the individual does not belong, if a mother remarries, her former husband's line of descent will be recognized by her children for certain purposes, such as for access to swidden land and sago. Figure 3.5 illustrates four different

scenarios following remarriage: (a) where a woman remarries a man from the same clan but a different descent line, (b) where a woman remarries a man from a different clan, (c) where a man remarries a woman from the same clan, and (d) where a man remarries a woman from a different clan. Where the affinal clans are the same (a and d), the behaviour towards clan ancestors, and of clan ancestors towards the living, will be regulated in much the same way, though individuals may be of different lines of descent and thus differences will arise here.

As we will discover in Chapter 4, in the sacred houses of larger clans it is possible to identify plural lines of descent that exhibit some of the properties of lineages, in the sense that they form the basis for informal un-named groups through patrilineal descent lines that can be traced back between three and five generations, and which in certain contexts behave in a collective way. Such groups are always traceable genealogically to a common male ancestor. There are no common rituals or traditions to distinguish one descent line from another and no common or joint property rights over land, above the 'serial rights' recognized for individual males as the sons of their father, and as members of a clan. Such descent lines do not give rise to corporate groups for the purpose of accessing resources. No esoteric knowledge or 'rights' of any kind are held in the lineage per se, though 'rights' in knowledge may effectively be transmitted by being handed down through a single descent line. It is purely recognition of a certain proximity of genealogical relationship.

Problematic (for example quasi-incestuous) marriages, though they may be remembered through their continuing effects on present-day social organization, are thought of as being of no consequence. One such was between Pekahatu Sounaueainakahata, the father of Tapone, head of the local clan in Rouhua in 1970, and Nauhua Matoke-pina. Similarly, individuals will recall the crimes of their immediate ancestors, without feeling that it affects them in any way (for example, Komisi Soumori in regard to the murder of his father's brother). Also, persons who seek to pursue feuds and ostracizing behaviour, as between Patioka Sounaue-ainakahata and Surita Matoke-pina chronicled in Chapter 8, may be subject to the anger of others who take the view that once customary retribution has been made (such as payment of a fine to aggrieved ancestors) it is time to call a truce and move on. No shame or disgrace is harbored by virtue of a connection through descent with an offence committed by a kinsperson in

the past, only a structural expectation of remembrance through compensation.

Filiation and double descent

One of the core conceptual discoveries in kinship theory of the mid-twentieth century was of the analytic importance of distinguishing between the principle of descent – evident in words, categories and discourse – and the actual existence of groups based on the idea of descent (incorporation). A second discovery was the importance of distinguishing descent from filiation. The first involved recognition of lineal ancestry through one or both parents, the second involved the bond established between a parent and its offspring. In the model on which these insights are based, successive bonds of filiation through either the male or female line are not the same as descent. Most children have bonds of complementary filiation,[5] meaning with both mother and father, but these are not necessarily of equal weight. In the Nuaulu social system there is clearly both patrilineal descent and complementary filiation, but the question might be asked: to what extent does a principle of descent of any kind constitute the basis for group formation, and to what extent might ties through the female line also exhibit some characteristics of descent in the way I have conceptualized it?

The reason these questions even arise in the present context is because central to the Leiden structuralism that I introduced in Chapter 1, and which developed between 1930 and 1970, was the notion that pivotal to the social organization of (particularly eastern) Indonesian peoples are traces of double descent (or 'dual', 'duolineal', or 'bilineal' descent) as a feature of some generalized prototype (de Josselin de Jong 1935), and more generally that a 'latent bilineal principle' (Gunawan 2000: 7) was one of the features of an *ethnologische studieveld*, or field of anthropological study (in this case Indonesia and the Malay world) which appeared to share an underlying social structure. Indeed, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (1970) followed Tylor and Frazer in seeing classificatory kinship terms as a response to this kind of dual organization. The Nuaulu are located within that arc of eastern Indonesian societies analyzed by Van Wouden (1935 [1968]) and who claimed double descent to be present. The idea that all Indonesian societies

should at least display residues of this feature was subsequently more-or-less demolished by P. E. de Josselin de Jong (1977b). However, the extent to which we can see both male or female lines of descent as relevant to understanding social classification and practices remains an empirical question that must be addressed in the Nuaulu case.

Radcliffe-Brown (1950: 41) suggested that we can only claim that double descent is present where it is reflected in the formation of corporate groups based on both patrilineal and matrilineal descent. In suggesting that a rule of descent affiliates an individual at birth with a particular group of relatives, and that double descent assigns an individual to a group of each type, Radcliffe-Brown was following Murdock (1949, 1960), but was also in agreement with Van Wouden (1968: 6), for whom double descent was defined as 'the co-presence of both patrilineal and matrilineal clans within a single tribe'. This was a position consolidated in the canon of kinship theory by Robin Fox (1967: 132), and in such a view it is group relationships that are primary, not the particular marriage customs that might seem to flow from them, or indeed the existence of masculine and feminine principles of the kind found widely in eastern Indonesia. This distinction becomes important when we consider marriage practices in a later stage of the analysis.

In a regional context (the Moluccas, Nusa Tenggara and Timor), Van Wouden (1968 [1935]: 8, 153–4) says that there is evidence of double (unilateral) descent in structural forms of the *soa-dati* type: the *soa* being the patrilineal local group, while *dati* is a descent group with numerous features that attest to its 'matrilineal character'. Van Wouden (1968 [1935]: 90–1) begins with the structural logic:

> If we take a patrilineal clan system with unilateral affinal relationships and exclusive cross-cousin marriage as the obligatory form of marriage… [then]… the conclusion emerges that in addition to four patrilineal clans there must also exist four exogamous matrilineal groups.

In other words,

> it is a consequence of the unilateral system (asymmetric connubium) that both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of grouping co-exist and are entirely equivalent, so that it might be called a double-unilateral system.
>
> (p. 92)

Lévi-Strauss, starting from a different set of assumptions, but with equally impeccable structural logic, says that it is symmetric ‘connubium’ that requires double descent, and that this descent form is redundant in a system of generalized exchange (Van Wouden 1977: 218). In *Types of Social Structure* Van Wouden argues that marriage with the mother’s brother’s daughter is compatible with either matrilineal, patrilineal or double descent, and even when those core elements are missing there will be evidence that they once existed. However, double descent and asymmetric ‘connubium’ do appear to be incompatible despite the formal demonstration by Van Wouden that ‘matrilateral cross-cousin marriage between three unilineal descent groups implies a descent principle through the other line’.

In a double descent system, since descent is being traced in two different directions, it is practically important to distinguish membership of different lines and groups terminologically. Therefore, we need to test whether there is any evidence that this might be the case, or might ever have been the case, in the recent past. In the Nuaulu example we have terminological data consistent with bilateral cross-cousin marriage, where there are two groups: the (patriclan) group of Ego, and the other group (affines), which includes MB, FZH, MBD and FZD. In any true double descent ‘system’, both patriclans and matriclans must exist, and must be exogamous. If only one is exogamous, the integrity of the opposite line is threatened. Thus, where there is true double descent, marriage must always be with a clan other than that of the mother or father. However, this would rapidly exhaust the number of actual potential mates and could not, in practice, function. More specifically, Nuaulu marriage with bilateral cross-cousins would be specifically ruled-out in a system of exogamous matriclans and patriclans, since cross-cousins are members of the mother’s matriclan.

We have already established that the primary group for understanding Nuaulu social organization, reflected in its ritual and exchange practices, is the clan or sub-clan (***ipane***), but that for all practical purposes it is its *local* instantiation which is the operational unit rather than all those who are recognized as members of the clan or sub-clan wherever they might live. In either case, as we have seen, the clan is not easy to describe in terms of a shared genealogy through empirical links. Genealogical ground-truthing is only really possible for its constituent sacred houses (***numa monne***). This matter will be explored further in Chapter 4.

When asked to which clan a person belongs, all Nuaulu males and unmarried women will give the clan of their father. Married women may

give the name of either the clan of their father or that of their husband, depending on their degree of incorporation into the husband's clan. This depends – as we shall see in Chapter 6 – upon the ability to make the appropriate payments and fulfil certain ritual obligations. A woman retains her affiliation with her natal clan, but at some point early in the marriage must go through a ritual to bring her under the ***nuhune*** spirits of her husband's clan, to which she becomes subject, whether marriage-wealth has been paid or not. Thus, women are not considered to be automatically incorporated into the clan of their husband, retain links and obligations even when living virilocally, and in a crisis a wife rapidly returns to the clan of her father. But whether primary identity is achieved through descent or affinity, it is anyway with a group that is defined in terms of a set of male lineal connections. While males could never be members of two clans in this sense, it does look as though women in certain circumstances are seen as belonging to two descent groups: that of their husband and that of their father. But neither of these is a matriclan. Moreover, as we have seen, while both patrilineal ***ipane*** and ***numa monne*** are named, there is no evidence of complementary names for groups formed through descent along the female line. Indeed, there is no evidence of any groupings organized around a principle of matrilineal descent. Children always belong to the clan of their father, except in certain cases where unmarried women have children who take the clan and house name of their mother (e.g. Merlisa and Siloo Sounaueainakahata, the children of Henimana (b. 1960–65), the deaf-mute daughter of Tapone in Rouhua). In other cases where a woman has married out of the Nuaulu community her children may retain the name of her clan. This was the case for the children of Pinamkonai Sounaue-ainakahata (b. 1960–65) in Rouhua, who married Martinus Payong from Flores, and who subsequently returned there. Such a situation is often combined with uxorilocal residence and ***konaupu*** service for the domestic group of the bride. Furthermore, on remarriage a wife may take her young children with her, to reside in the household of their stepfather, though eventually they will become full members of their father's clan and house.

Listing such situations as exceptional is not to say that matrilateral ties are unimportant, but as Fortes (1966: 110) put it: filiation is a practice often embedded in the 'domestic' rather that 'politico-jural' domain. Thus, while a Nuaulu mother's brother plays an important role in the life of his sister's offspring, he has no legal power or economic rights. A mother's brother is treated in quite a different way, therefore, to a father's brother. There is no

control but considerable affection between a mother's brother and his sister's son or daughter. Nevertheless, relations with a mother's brother are strictly formal, while those with a mother's sister are intimate, especially for girls, an intimacy not shown for a father or father's brother. There are, therefore, ties of (complementary) filiation on both the mother's and the father's side, but descent is only traced through the male side. One might envisage the creation of groups through a marital or maternal link for certain purposes, though not for the recognition of descent (Fox 1967: 134). Neither complementary filiation, nor affinal alliances, in themselves or combined, create double descent.

In the rest of this chapter, we assess the evidence for the existence of lineality, and in particular matrilineality, by first looking at the words people use, the categories these words label and the rules that can be inferred from them; the evidence of data on inheritance and property transfer, the evidence for post-marital residence, and finally the evidence for group-like behaviour and processes of incorporation.

Terminology and rules

We start with words and general descriptions of ideal kinship arrangements as a matter of convention. The earliest accounts by anthropologists of kinship systems were almost entirely based on generalizations about rules with relatively little observation of practice, and this no doubt led to a general assumption that people behaved consistently, as the categories and rules seemed to predict. With hindsight, and especially with a wealth of empirical data on kinship practice, we can see that this was naïve, as practice often substantially deviates from both explicit and implicit rules. Nevertheless, looked at from an evolutionary perspective, the whole point of lexical descriptors and language-based rules in relation to social cognition is that they provide a shared and simplified code that assists interaction and planning. We will consider terminologies in more detail in Chapter 5, but here we need to introduce the subject as a body of evidence that might shed light on the relative significance of patrilines and matrilines.

In a unilineal system we have come to expect that genealogical brothers and sisters (***kakako susu***, ***hotako susu***) will be distinguished from clan

brothers and sisters: ***we ahotau*** (pl.) ‘all females of the clan’, from ***we akakau*** (pl.), ***kakako*** (sing.), **hotako**, ‘all men of the clan’; or from ***we akakau pinau*** (pl.), ***kakakau pina*** (sing.), ‘all wives of men of the clan’. The terms for collateral relatives in each generation are more complex. Although we find, restricting ourselves to the uninomials, that FB (***mema***) does not equal MB (***ete***), we also find that FyZ = MyZ (***uka***), and FeB = MeZ = FeZ (***oa***). This is basically a symmetrical ‘Iroquois’ terminology in which cross and parallel cousins are distinguished and siblings classified either with parallel cousins or by distinctive terms. Thus, FZS = MBS (***makae***, ms), FZD = MBD (***hotaku***, ms), and FZD = MBD (***makae***, fs, ***hotaku***, ms).

In unilineal systems we might also expect generational terms to differ between the descent groups of mother and father and between husband and wife. In fact, Nuaulu terms for direct lineal antecedents and descendants are identical: thus MF = FF = FM = MM (***momo***), FFF = FFM = FMF = FMM = MMF = MMM = MFF = MFM (***upu***), and so on. Nuaulu generational terminology is, in fact, entirely symmetrical and reciprocal between the generations (except obviously in the first ascendant and descendant generations). The binomial qualifiers of these terms confirm the non-lineal symmetry, by stressing gender but not descent status. Thus, MM = FM (***momo binatui***) and MF = FF (***momo onate***).

In Nuaulu terminology it is age (elder/younger) rather than gender that is significant in making primary distinctions (at a uninomial level). However, in discussing kinship relations the male-female contrast may be employed in other ways. Thus, the two halves (***numa***) of a clan are often rendered in terms of gender, the younger (***numa kapitane***) always being female, and the older (***numa mainae***) always being male. Nevertheless, these are both patrilineal descent groups. Younger and older in this context relate not only to the relative political deference of ***kapitane*** to ***ia onate***, but also to real historical age. Moreover, in terms of the relative precedence between clans in relation to marriage, the wife-taking clan (***tanaite***) is rendered male and the wife-giving clan (***hanahanai***) rendered female. Finally, within the house the male-female division is used to organize space and behaviour appropriate to that space. But because we have distinctions rendered in terms of gender, does not in any way imply dual descent with its implications of genealogical descent and material (property) relations. A principle of duality should not be confused with double descent, nor gender confused with descent through one line or the other.

Inheritance and property transfer

If the words people use to designate social categories, and the abstract rules they openly articulate in regard to descent, are insufficient to establish whether ‘descent’ might in any sense be said to be traced through the matrilineal line, we might be on safer ground when examining actual material flows from a mother to her children, and from her female children to her grandchildren: concrete items such as names, medicinal recipes and other esoteric knowledge, ritual objects, dwellings, land or other resources.

Titles always pass in the male line, usually from father to eldest son, although there are cases where inheritance of a title has passed through a younger son (as in the case of the headship of the clan Soumori in Rouhua, on conversion of the eldest son to Islam), or moved from one descent line to another within a clan. In Figure 3.4 we can see how the headship of the ***numa onate*** Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua transferred from Tapone to his younger brother Numapena, and for a short period resided with Hitinesi; and how the headship of the ***numa kapitane*** transferred from Patarai to his eldest son Hatarai, but thereafter moved to an entirely different descent line from a common ancestor of Patarai, to pass to Menai, and after him to a younger son, Manue.[6]

As was established in *Nuaulu Religious Practices*, the wife of a clan head or ***kapitane*** is in a complementary relationship with her husband when it comes to the provision of certain ritual services, particularly those relating to the rituals of womanhood. In emphasizing that titles always pass through the male line – with whatever circumlocutions – we need to note that female guardians of sacred houses, who have a special responsibility for ritual relating to the female life-cycle, inherit their role and specialist knowledge not from their mother, but generally from the mother of their husband, in other words also through the patriline. In the normal way, therefore, she performs this role by virtue of being the wife of the male title-holder, but where there has been repeat marriage between two clans in the descent line of a title-holder it might be said that there is inheritance from a classificatory (or sometimes genealogical) father’s sister, and it therefore might be said to be simultaneously passing through the females of her own patriclan as well as that of her husband. But this usually happens for two or three generations at most, before being interrupted by marriage involving a third clan. But even where there is no appearance of inheritance through the wife’s clan,

esoteric knowledge will still be passed on from the wife of a previous title-holder to a new title-holder.

In addition to the transmission of titles and associated esoteric knowledge, some personal names may pass through the female line (Ellen 1983; Chapter 5 here). The use of names acquired through affinal or maternal links can stress the importance of a clan alliance. Similarly, ancestral spirits from the clan of a wife or mother might be legitimately summoned during séances, though these spirits do not reside in the ***sakate*** basket that hangs in the roof space of sacred houses. Looked at in one sense, marriage payments made by the wife's clan to that of the bride might be seen as the inheritance of valuables in the maternal line, especially where payment is deferred, a subject I will be returning to in Chapter 6. Descent is, however, mainly symbolized in the transmission of heir-looms, where it is expressed in terms of sacred house continuity, made possible in the traceable genealogies of individual guardians. Sacred objects associated with female rituals are the responsibility of female guardians, but these 'belong' to the house and are not transmitted in any female genealogical line. Female offspring may receive (i.e. 'inherit') small items from their mothers, such as medicinal recipes and designs for baskets, and the cumulative effect of this is matrilineal inheritance.

Finally, there is the matter of land. Land is the theoretically inalienable property of clans, and its transfer to others, including non-Nuaulu, through sale is generally only possible through customary arrangements that see the transaction as temporary. So, the parcels of land that appear to pass from the clan of the wife to that of the husband are not evidence of dual inheritance, even less of double descent, but of the arrangements made by clans at the time of marriage. As with the making of other marriage payments by the clan of the wife to that of the husband, while at the time of the marriage (t1) we tend to represent the transmission of property as *lateral* or *horizontal*, by the time the first children have arrived (t2) the transmission has become *vertical*. The point is that property is not being transferred along a female line at all, but passing from one patriclan to another. The land belongs to the bride's father, his genealogical and classificatory brothers, and is given to the clan of a husband for him to use as he wishes. The wife does not obtain the land from her mother, although some of the land transferred at marriage may have in turn been among land acquired from a third clan following the marriage of her mother. It is tempting to see evidence in such transactions for lineality, but this is the logic of *our* representations and conflates the Nuaulu reality.

Residence

In Chapter 4 we will examine some of the evidence for the empirical forms taken by domestic groups and the issue of residence in relation to the concept of ‘the house’, but we will do so wholly from the perspective of demonstrating the existence of patrilines and the distribution of persons related through their father, and through particular clans in physical space. However, one major feature of the composition of Nuaulu domestic groups is the extent to which newly married men move into the residential units of the bride’s parents (***iae nisi pina***; lit. ‘also the gardens of a wife’, equivalent to AM *kawin masuk*, ‘entering in marriage’). We will see in Chapter 6 just how numerically significant this practice is, but what is theoretically interesting given the main preoccupation of this chapter is that the conditions for double descent may arise when residence takes one form and descent another, either matrilineal descent with patrilocal residence or patrilineal descent with matrilocal residence. What we find, however, in the Nuaulu case, is strong patrilineal descent combined with frequent uxorilocal residence. Married men live with the wife’s parents, but in the house of her father. Residence of this kind is therefore technically uxorilocal for the husband, but patrilocal for the wife. In theory, it is possible to live with a wife’s father who himself has ***iae nisi pina*** commitments and is therefore living with his wife’s father, but this seldom happens. This is partly because as a new domestic group grows, with the addition of young children, it is common for them to move to a separate independent dwelling in order to expand their living space, even if the formal commitments of ***iae nisi pina*** still apply. If practiced systematically over several generations, a consequence of persistent uxorilocal residence is that women and their daughters tend to stay together in the same local group (Figure 3.6). This might be thought to provide a structural foundation for the eventual recognition of descent through the female line, but on present evidence it cannot be inferred that it is any more than this.

Some individuals consider that they have two residences: the house of their father and the house of their mother’s parents, and these individuals may move easily between the two residences. In the normal way, there is no question of the groom being incorporated into the bride’s clan, even though he may sometimes become the head of household in his wife’s clan.

An ***iae nisi pina*** marriage may be prompted by several circumstances. It may occur when the siblings of a bride are young and without a provider, and especially where a bride has no male siblings to care for her relatives. In such a situation her father (or in the absence of a father, her mother) may request that her husband comes to live with them. ***Iae nisi pina*** also sometimes involves a groom's younger married sister working for his wife's family, where the labour is not strictly the gift of his own clan but that of his sister's husband. However, where the wife has a brother, and he has reached maturity, he may take over this responsibility, allowing his sister and her husband to set up a separate household or move to that of the husband's father. In any case there is no question of the husband being incorporated into the household, patriline or clan of his wife, though the arrangement might occasionally last for the duration of the marriage. Moreover, while a couple may prefer to set up a separate household as soon as possible, a bride's natal family may sometimes become dependents of the husband who originally 'entered in'. In such circumstances, he might even become head of the household. An ***iae nisi pina*** marriage may also be contracted where a groom has not yet gone through his ***matahenne*** (male puberty ceremony) or where non-Nuaulu husbands (e.g. from Buton or from Flores) marry a girl from the village. However, it is widely accepted that the main reason for an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage is where the clan of the groom is unable to meet the marriage-wealth payments demanded by the clan of the bride. Despite its pragmatic advantages, ***iae nisi pina*** is symbolically inferior to ***sou mainae*** (big talk) marriage, and if ***iae nisi pina*** is agreed upon for other reasons, the marriage-wealth is reduced.

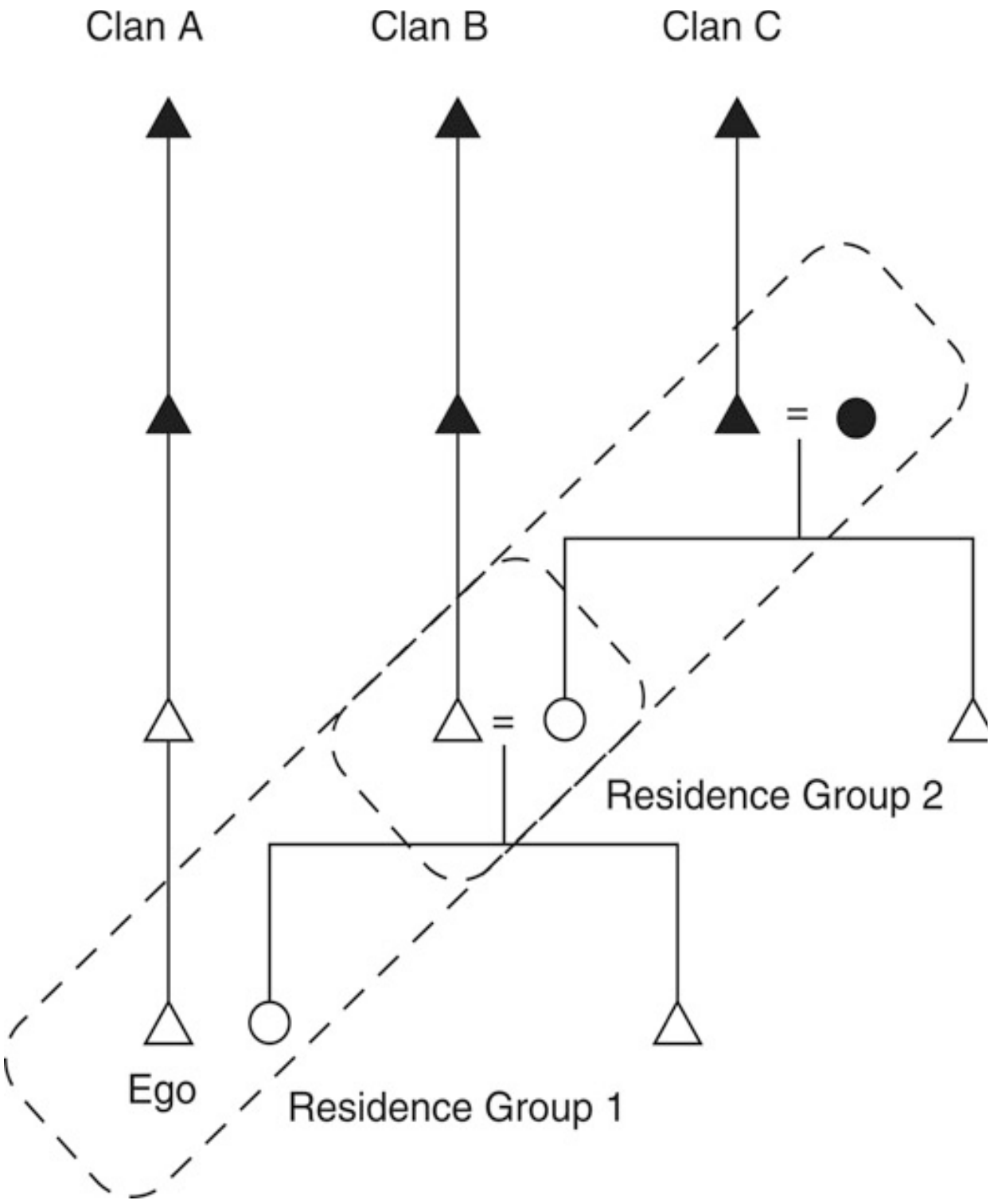


Figure 3.6 Structural consequences of persistent uxorilocal residence. 1, residence group of male Ego, his W, WM and WF; 2, overlapping residence group of WM and WF with WMF and WMM.

In some extreme circumstances where the clan is unable to meet – in part or in whole – the marriage-wealth payments of even an ***iae nisi pina***

marriage, the first children of that union will be incorporated into the clan of the mother. ‘Paying with a person’ (***hunonini tau mansia, ya hiki hunoni ni*** or AM *ambil anak*) is rare and it is regarded as shaming to alienate any potential clan member.

A further advantage of (and perhaps incentive for) ***iae nisi pina*** marriage is in terms of the movement of labour. It makes it easier to call upon affines to supply a husband’s clan with labour, bringing in more resource and giving access to more land. In turn, the bride’s clan benefits from the increase in its labour pool, in that her husband must also work for her clan. It is only through a continual circulation of land between clans that each clan maximizes its own resources. Therefore, the bride’s parents will nearly always enter marriage negotiations with a bias in favour of uxorilocal residence unless the value of the marriage-wealth to be obtained over-compensates for the arrangement, or where there are really exceptional circumstances. Such circumstances would include marriages involving the genealogical line of a clan chief or ***kapitane***, usually though not exclusively the eldest son. Thus, although Mosone Soumori (b. 1955) married initially through ***iae nisi pina***, because of his position as eldest son of a clan chief it was necessary to negotiate a compromise with his wife’s parents so that he could live in the clan sacred house, to prevent disgrace, embarrassment and the displeasure of ancestral spirits.

Forming corporate groups

Where linguistic modes of reference and address distinguish relationships on the father’s side from those on the mother’s side, and where property (both sacred and mundane, tangible and intangible) is overwhelmingly transferred through the male line, then there are strong grounds for inferring the existence of corporate patrilineal groups.

Clans are not ‘descent groups’ in the sense that every individual can be demonstrated as being related genealogically, but they are composed of genealogically based descent lines and are seen to share common blood (***nasi***), and are seen as part of a common ‘trunk’ or ‘stem’ (***tinaie***). On marriage, women become progressively subject to the authority of their husband’s clan, through the conduct of specific rituals, the transfer of

material payments and the adoption of new customary practices; but they are never totally absorbed. Widows with children and adopted children may be incorporated in effect, although children from a wife who has previously been married into another clan are not incorporated into a clan of her new husband. If a woman remarries, her children remain in the clan of their father, unless they are very young.

In former times when clans and local settlements were synonymous there must have always been a certain number of non-clanspersons present, assuming the importance of uxorilocal residence then as now. We can still see what this might have looked like by examining the data for the settlement of Hahualan, which remains in formal terms entirely Neipani-nesinopu, but where a number of households are constituted through males from other clans residing with their wife's parents. Nowadays, in multi-clan villages, the movement of incoming males living uxorilocally can usually be regarded as the potential nucleus for the eventual establishment of a new branch of that clan with its own leadership and possibly in due course a sacred house as the focus of its identity.

No descent system can be absolute in its stress on one line, because of the structural tensions brought about by complementary filiation. Similarly, we must recognize with Murdock (1949: 218) that in many parts of the world patrilineal and matrilineal peoples are found living side by side in areas where other cultural features show unmistakable evidence of historical connection.[7] For Murdock, where this was so matrilineal descent must have evolved into patrilineal and not vice versa. For Lévi-Strauss (1949), transition from one form of descent to another is both historically demonstrable, and structurally facilitated by the combination of patriliny and uxorilocal residence, which he regarded as inherently unstable, and to presage change from unilineal to double descent. But there is no evidence in the Nuaulu case to suggest social change in one direction or the other. To reiterate, we must not confuse the patriclan of a wife with a matriclan, or affinity with matriliny, or uxorilocality with matrilocality, even less a 'feminine principle' with matrilineality.

The fact that formalized uxorilocal marriage is found commonly in the central Moluccas has led to the suggestion (Cooley 1962b: 38–9) that perhaps it is the residue of a former matrilineal system. The importance of the wife's mother's brother has provoked speculation, but so might the role of the groom's sister's husband, and that certainly does not suggest any

matrilineal bias. What these both indicate is that according to Nuaulu social norms, wife-givers are always superior to wife-takers. While we might doubt the evidence for the previous existence of matriliny amongst the Nuaulu, it is the case that we do find matrilineal societies in close proximity to patrilineal ones, in otherwise patrilineal areas. But we now have more data (for example for Wemale, Maneo and Buru), which must lead us to be sceptical of the evidence for double descent on Seram. Nuaulu themselves deny emphatically the possibility of matriliny in former times, where all the apparent evidence for matrilineal descent can be explained, more parsimoniously, as separate consequences arising from particular problems, and should not be conflated.

Conclusion

Needham (1974: 44–50) has challenged the notion of descent 'system', in the context of a more widespread critique of the unthinking application of models developed to understand African societies, and certainly there is plenty of research on group recruitment in eastern Indonesian societies that supports this view (e.g. Cunningham 1966, 1967; Hicks 1987). But I would like to challenge Needham at least in relation to one eastern Indonesian society. Nuaulu clans really can be said to be 'descent groups' in addition to 'alliance groups', where membership is largely a matter of recruitment by birth, and where in-marrying women are incorporated only with much ritual work to overcome their structural marginality. True, recruitment is also possible through adoption (as we shall see in Chapter 4), while genealogical memory is largely short, and history, locality and genealogy often ambiguous, but the principles embodied in the idea of descent are palpable.

As I shall argue in Chapter 5, in looking at Nuaulu kinship terms we must distinguish genealogically specified positions (e.g. FF, FM, MM, MF) from classificatory categories (where, say, ***momo*** groups together FF, FM, MM, MF), and must distinguish genealogical descent (where we can trace specific 'genetic' links between biological individuals) from classificatory descent. This is so regardless of whether we are dealing with a sacred house (***numa monne***), sub-clan or clan (***ipane***). In all there is a strong notion of corporate descent recognized over the long term, even though the temporal line traced

through individual ***ia onate*** is not always reflected in specific genealogical linkages, and where the house as a whole takes on some of the 'organic' qualities of descent, reproduction and continuity.

From what we can tell from the historical evidence (narratives of movement to the coast and individual clan histories), despite the disappearance of a few clan and sub-clan names during the 'demographic bottleneck' in Nuaulu population history that has occurred during the twentieth century, the number of clans has more-or-less remained constant for 150 years. The picture for the period before this is unclear, but there is no evidence suggesting that the number was much greater prior to this. This is significant, as if the number of exogamous clans has always been relatively small (say, +/− 10 clans and 14 sub-clans), and if all are exogamous then this constrains the possibilities for marriage and therefore alliance.[8] Given that the total population (especially if it declined on movement to the coast) was never any higher than it is now, and given overall higher levels of infant mortality, and the distribution of Nuaulu hamlets over a much wider area (possibly as much as 2,400 square kilometers), then these might all be expected to impact significantly on possible marriage patterns.

Notes

1 The word *ipa* or *ifan* was examined comparatively by Van Wouden (1935), as a term mainly found in central Seram. The Nuaulu term is also optionally contracted to ***ipan***. Valeri (1976: 128) describes the Huaulu *ipa* as a lineage. He notes the distribution of the cognates for *ipa* in other Seramese languages (e.g. Wemale *ipa/ipele* (Jensen 1948: 58) and suggests that it is possibly derived from proto-Malayo-Polynesian *ipay or *ipaR, as in Malay *ipar* (brother-in-law). Valeri (1976: 128–31) also describes two other genealogical/territorial units – *amani* and *niniani*. However, the careful distinctions that Valeri draws based on linguistic evidence do not seem to work for contemporary Nuaulu, nor for reconstructions of their pre-twentieth-century history.

2 In Ambon, the term *soa* is used to describe 'a sub-division composed of a fixed number of clans' (Cooley 1962b: 94), while clans are unilineal land holding groups, described as *mata rumah* or more archaically as *rumah tau* (ibid., 1, 93; see also Cooley 1962a: 103). *Soa* was in fact a term widely used in Ambon-Lease by the nineteenth century, and one that was already in use during the seventeenth century, having been mentioned in Rumphius' (1910) history, and possibly of Ternatan origin (Holleman 1923: 7–13). On the use of the term *soa* in the Manusela area see Valeri (1975 (1): 90), who also discusses its use in other parts of the Moluccas. Van Wouden (1968 [1935]) had long ago recognized that *soa* can variously refer to a 'tribal segment', a 'family' group or a lineage. He notes (p. 147) that 'there is considerable wavering about territorial and genealogical character of these social groups'. Cognates of *soa* are widely found as names for quasi-genealogical territorial groups in other parts of the Moluccas. In east Seram the *soa* is equated with

the local lineage group or *etar* (Ellen 2003: 36–40). Overall, we must probably treat *soa* as a convenient portmanteau term.

3 In Sepa it is permitted to marry within the *soa* but not to marry into one's *saudara susu* (AM), that is an immediate kindred. Permissive clan endogamy in Sepa is at least in part the result of conversion to Islam with its associated custom of marrying parallel cousins.

4 A number of recent studies re-assert emphasis on the concept of descent and on the operation of corporate descent groups (Barraud 1990 (Tanebar-Evav): 200; Forth (Rindi) 1981: 295; Forth (Keo) 2001: 130; Gunawan (Wanokaka) 2000: 51; Needham (Mamboru) 1987: 91–6).

5 Every child born within the lifespan of a union is considered a member of his father's clan – even if he or she is the genetic offspring of a male from another clan. Children of a clan woman who is unmarried or not yet married (***anahua***: AM *anak luar*) – where there exists only unilateral (in this instance) matrifiliation rather than complementary filiation – are considered as members of the clan, even where the father is known. For example, Henimana (b. 1963), the deaf-mute daughter of Tapone Sounaue-ainakahata and Paua Matoke-pina in Rouhua, had several children by the early 1980s, but has never been married. Children from unmarried mothers were common in Rouhua during the periods I have spent in the field.

6 For other examples of changes in lineal succession to titled positions in eastern Indonesian clans that run counter to the expected descent line, see Molnar (2000: 108) on the Hoga Sara of Flores.

7 For recent accounts of matrilineality in eastern Indonesia societies, see Lewis (1988: xiii) on the Ata Tana 'Ai of Flores, and Gunawan (2000: 7) on the Wanokaka of Sumba.

8 Clan contraction can sometimes pose a problem for rules of exogamy. Marriage within sub-clans is prohibited, but marriage between sub-clans within the same clan can sometimes be marginally acceptable. There is one record of such a marriage, between Nahatue and Neipani-tomoien, but as we have seen Nahatue was only relatively recently absorbed into Neipani. Compare the Nuaulu situation with that described by Lewis (1988: 226) for Tana Wai Brama in Flores, where there is a preference for intra-clan marriage, with 33 percent of unions being between men and women of the same clan.

4
Houses, networks and the practices of kinship

The concept of the house

What are conventionally described as ‘kinship systems’ are in effect networks of social relations between individual persons biased by: (a) the degree to which they coincide with genetic relatedness, (b) the extent to which notions of biological relatedness are used to model them, and (c) the imposition of a set of social categories that map on to group organization. These groups and categories generally have some spatial referents, or conceptual referents that draw on spatial and physical metaphors. The most obvious of these are ‘the house’, the household and the domestic group.

There has been much discussion of the applicability of Lévi-Strauss’s concept of house society to eastern Indonesia, where it has been suggested that kinship and political relations are organized around membership of corporately organized dwellings rather than descent groups or lineages. The house concept has often been seen as pivotal to understanding relations of marriage, discourses of origin and cosmology (McKinnon 1995; Kaartinen 2011), although as we saw in Chapter 3 the house concept is not central to understanding Nuaulu marriage, and sacred houses must rely on the clan for their biological reproduction. For Lévi-Strauss (1982: 194) the house is

> a corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods and its titles down a real or imaginary line considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, of both.

However, while some of the ‘ambiguities which have puzzled anthropologists… might be resolved by seeing them as house-focused systems’

(Waterson 1995: 47), ‘the problem with Lévi-Strauss is that his concept is so general as to be found almost everywhere’ (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). In particular, it is problematic anywhere people distinguish lineage and house, as in Banda Eli (Kaartinen 2011: 131). Barraud (1979: 90) says of Kei-Tanimbar that units of exchange (houses) and units of exogamy (lineages) do not coincide (see also Grimes 1996, for Buru), a situation we have already noted well exemplifies the Nuaulu. One clue as to the relative significance of the house may be found in the extent to which cognates of the word ‘house’ feature in the names of places and groups that have become patronyms. For example, common *etar* (lineage) names in east Seram are Rumakat, Rumonin etc., where ‘ruma’ is the local word for house (Ellen 2003: 37). But this only perpetuates the confusion.

While Nuaulu sacred houses (generically, ***numa monne***) are fundamental to the working of the system, and while we have established that ‘house’ is certainly a crucial concept in Nuaulu society, I would resist the concept of ‘house society’ given the collective societal salience of the clan (***ipane***) as the most inclusive level to which people acknowledge allegiance through blood and ‘descent’, even though tracing ancestors back many generations is not important. Some clans comprise one house, some three or more, but ideally all should comprise two, related – in the dominant binary idiom of Nuaulu ritual discourse – as ***kaka-wani***, as older sibling (***numa onate***) to younger sibling (***numa kapitane***). I have heard other Nuaulu, using a slightly different metaphoric inflection, describe the relationship as ‘like twins’, such that if one is absent the clan is incomplete; though clans that comprise a single house do not see it this way. As we have observed in Chapter 3, it is possible for a house to become a clan through segmentation and then to divide further to form two houses, and contrariwise for a clan to become a house through the loss of one of its constituent houses, such that it is simultaneously house and clan (as in the case of Matoke-pina in the village of Rouhua). If we look at the comparative literature for eastern Indonesia, we can see that in some cases the house is part of the clan (Nuaulu) and in others that the clan is part of (or equal to) the house, but as we can see from Figure 4.1, depending on the point at which we enter the time-line of descent group segmentation, either the clan or the house can be seen as overarching. In other words, clans and houses are in a complementary, implicate and dynamic relationship.[1]

Sacred houses

Each Nuaulu clan is ideally a diarchy, divided into two equal, reciprocally exchanging sections or ‘houses’ (***numa monne***).[2] These latter are moiety-like groups based on descent, and affiliated to either a ***numa onate*** (large or main house) or ***numa kapitane*** (house of the war leader). The two houses are simultaneously complementary and hierarchic. The ***numa onate***, alternatively called the ***numa mainae***, meaning ‘very large’ (sometimes glossed *rumah pusaka* or *rumah adat* in Ambonese Malay), takes precedence in ritual matters and is therefore senior, but only as a kind of primus-inter-pares. Urbanus Tongli (1994: 11) translates the term as ‘mother-house’. I have never heard this folk etymology from Nuaulu themselves, and neither does Bolton use it; but certainly all ritual houses are ‘mother-houses’ in the sense that they are a focus for a series of ordinary households which look to them as so many children. It is possible that this description arises from a misunderstanding: the interpretation of the term ***ina***, meaning ‘mother’ as an independent lexeme and as an infix carrying the same meaning, or it may be that ***mainae*** also conveys the sense of ‘mother of all’ as in ‘greatest, most encompassing’. By contrast, ***numa kapitane*** is associated with the brothers of the wife and the brothers of the mother, who are outsiders to all ritual held in the ***numa mainae***. The distinction between houses corresponds to an important distinction in Nuaulu kinship, namely that between the children of a brother and the children of a sister.

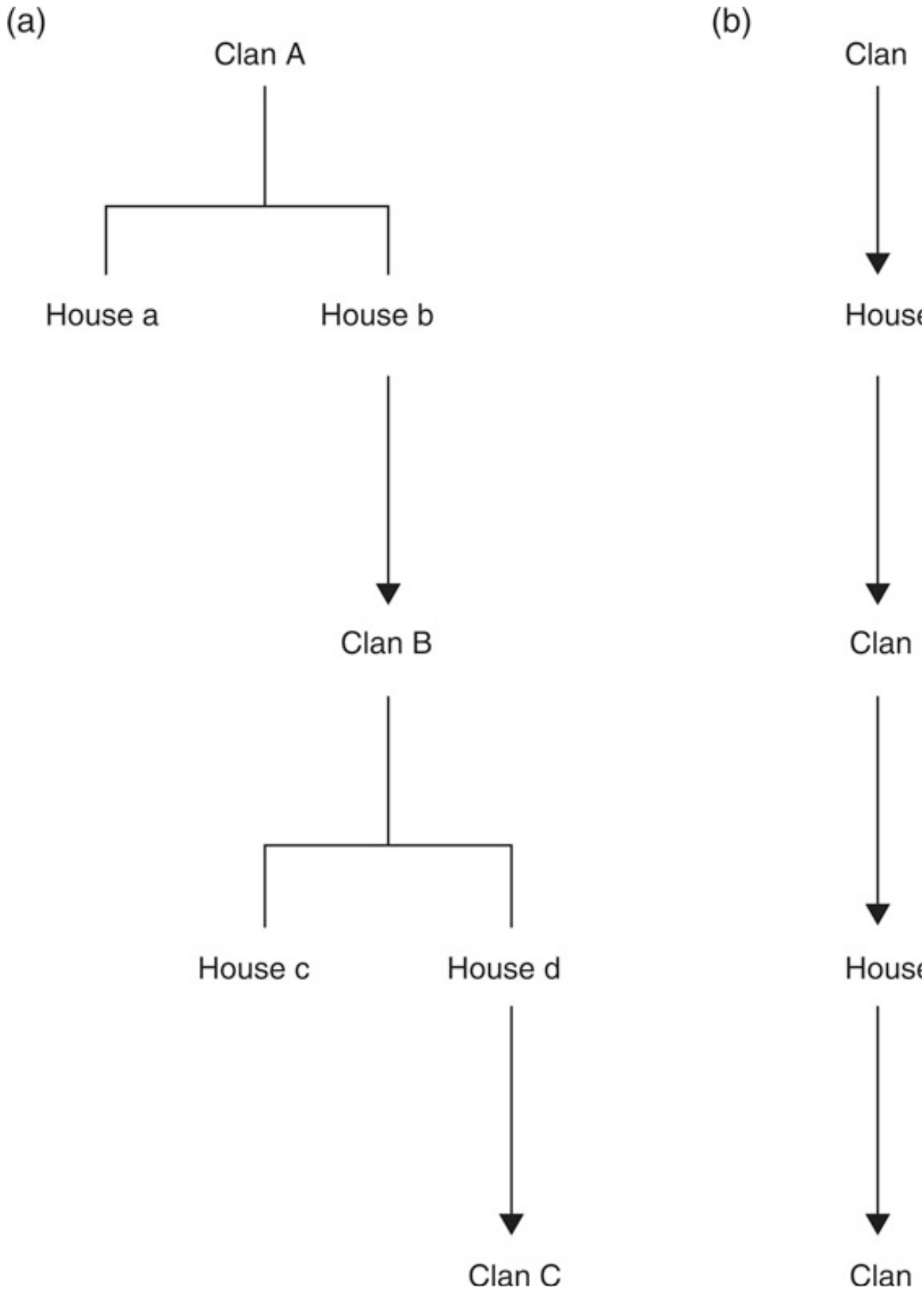

(a)
Clan A
House a
House b
Clan B
House c
House d
Clan C
(b)
Clan
Clan
Clan

Figure 4.1 The implicate relationship between clan and house over time.

Each ***numa monne*** has a name, in some cases several names. For example, the clan Pia (in Watane) comprises the ***numa onate*** Nesinusa and the ***numa kapitane*** Neinisa, though Tongli (1994: 48) also mentions Kolekole. The Matoke-hanaie houses in Aihisuru and thereafter Nuanea, are Pinawasa (Sounekete) for the ***numa onate***, Numanatu (Tumpasa) for the ***numa kapitane***, and Numarone for the house of the raja (***ia onate aia***). Similarly, Kamama comprises the ***numa onate*** Hatupika and the ***numa kapitane*** Hatunaka or Hatupatona, while there is a single Numanaeta sacred house, Tanehotu. In Bunara in 2015 Huni had two (paired) sacred houses (one of which was dilapidated): Souwane and Numahuni. Sopanani had two (Sopaupu and Nanamau), Neipani-nahatue two, and Sounaue-aipura two: Numasopite and Nanuhene. Neipani-nesinopu in Hahualan in 2015 had three sacred houses, two of which were ***numa onate*** and ***numa kapitane***. Watane in 2015 had just two, the ***numa onate*** and ***numa kapitane*** belonging to Peinisa. Peinisa in Rouhua comprised the ***numa onate*** Numanohi and the ***numa kapitane*** Numatope, while Sounaueainakahata comprised the ***numa onate*** Ainaka[hata] (a kind of tree) and the ***numa kapitane*** Numasopite or Amasopite (meaning house, or father of, the hornbill). Sounaue-ainakahata houses in Aihisuru were Numasopite and Numa ainunie, and Soumori, the ***numa onate*** Atanupa (a toponym) and the ***numa kapitane*** Ninita (meaning ‘mirror’). Soumori sacred house names in Rouhua include Ainana for the ***numa onate***, and Nanahatae and Numapate (this latter referring to a species of *Ficus* associated with the snake totem) for the ***numa kapitane***. Neipani-tomoien names include Pinawasa (bamboo roofing piece) and Sianana for the ***numa onate***, plus Tomoeni (a kind of bamboo) for the ***numa kapitane***, plus Sianana and Namanusa. The Matoke-pina ***numa onate*** in Rouhua is known as Numasuite.

Each ***numa monne*** is generally linked to an identifiable historic settlement site in the mountains (sometimes reflected in the name, as in Soumori ‘Atanupa’), which in the past may well have comprised a single physical ‘house’. But the relationship between clan and sacred house is fluid over time and, as we have seen, clans may segment and houses separate, eventually becoming clans in their own right. This appears to be what has happened with Sounaue-ainakahata and Sounaue-aipura, and much more recently – over the last 70 years – with Matokehanaie and Matoke-pina. In the latter case, Matoke divided into two independent clans – ***hanaie*** (male) and ***pina*** (female) – at the time of the split in clan allegiances during the 1930s that led to the founding of the settlement of Rouhua, and where Matoke-pina now performs the ‘lord of

the land' role. As a result, neither Matoke-pina in Rouhua nor Matoke-hanaie (formerly in Aihisuru and thereafter in Tahena Ukuna, more recently incorporated into Nuanea), have a ***numa kapitane***. In Nuanea (and formerly in Tahena Ukuna, and before that in Aihisuru), Matokehanaie is divided into three sacred houses. The second Matoke-pina sacred house in Rouhua is a ***numa nuhune***, used especially for birth ritual. During fieldwork in 1996 and 2003 there was evidence that Matoke-hanaie and Matoke-pina were seeking to come together again to reinforce Nuaulu collective political identity. This was claimed to be 'the wish of the ancestors', reflected in a string of misfortune for as long as the sub-clans had been separate. The establishment of the new Nuaulu *desa* at Nuanea, in which Matoke-hanaie had a leading role has, if anything, made this more difficult.

In 1970 Rouhua had only two clans described as having true ***kapitane***, 'war leaders' (Neipani-tomoien and Sounaue-ainakahata), the ***kapitane*** of the other clans living in Bunara or Niamonae. By the time Bolton reported on Rouhua clans in the 1990s, four were said to possess ***numa kapitane***. Where a clan does not have a ***kapitane*** at a given time but does have a ***numa kapitane***, other persons carry out the role until a new one is appointed. Thus, in 2003 Retaone was the acting ***kapitane*** for Soumori, but it was agreed that Soine would take over once he had married. Where no ***numa kapitane*** exists for a particular clan, other clans can perform the required roles in ritual. Thus, for Matoke-hanaie, Neipani has historically had this role, while for Matoke-pina in Rouhua, Sounaue provided the same services. No wonder, therefore, that despite a general cultural expectation that clans are composed of two exchanging sacred houses, there are often complex and idiosyncratic exceptions to this rule for good historical and practical reasons.

Clan houses are more than the people who comprise them, and have a quasi-independent existence. Each is focused on a group of ancestors of those presently affiliated to it, and so to this extent there is also recognition that a house is a descent group. It is the presence of these ancestral spirits and the need to interact with and venerate them that binds people to the physicality of the house. When the descent line dies out, however, the sacred house and the traditions (***monne***) it physically embodies die with it. It is with reference to the sacred heirloom items they contain, and because they are themselves the subject of ritual, that these physical entities are collectively called ***numa monne***. Nuaulu are conscious of the mortality of their houses in much the same way as they are conscious of the mortality of their clans, and they actively seek to maintain demographic viability to ensure the perpetuation of physical houses and the ***monne*** that they protect, and which protects them.

Although sacred houses are more than the people associated with them, they are constituted through known networks of genealogically related persons, unlike the more abstract and genealogically non-specific entity of the clan. In theory, genealogies can be established over many generations for any descent line, though in practice it tends to be only the descent lines of the senior ***ia onate*** and ***kapitane*** that are remembered in any detail. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 show the patrilineal descent lines affiliated with the sacred houses of the local clans Neipani-tomoien and Sounaue-ainakahata, the two largest clans in Rouhua between 1970 and 2015. The diagrams show the genealogical connections between lineages where the data are available, but in many cases the genetic links between different lines are more than 3–4 generations ascendant, and in some cases are not traceable by present members (as shown by the broken lines). The succession to the titles of ***ia onate*** and ***kapitane*** are shown by placing names of recipients in capital letters. In most cases the title passes from eldest son to eldest son, but there are exceptions.

Figure 4.2 shows the six patrilines of Neipani-tomoien and their affiliation to the two sacred houses. This is an example that best fits the model of a clan consisting of two sacred houses exchanging ritual services; however, it should be noted that patriline 6 is a relative newcomer, Maineu having moved from the settlement of Niamonae at the time of his marriage. Smaller clans in all the Nuaulu settlements often consist of just two patrilines, one for each sacred house (e.g. Numanaeta, Sopanani). Matoke-pina in Rouhua is unusual in having no ***numa***

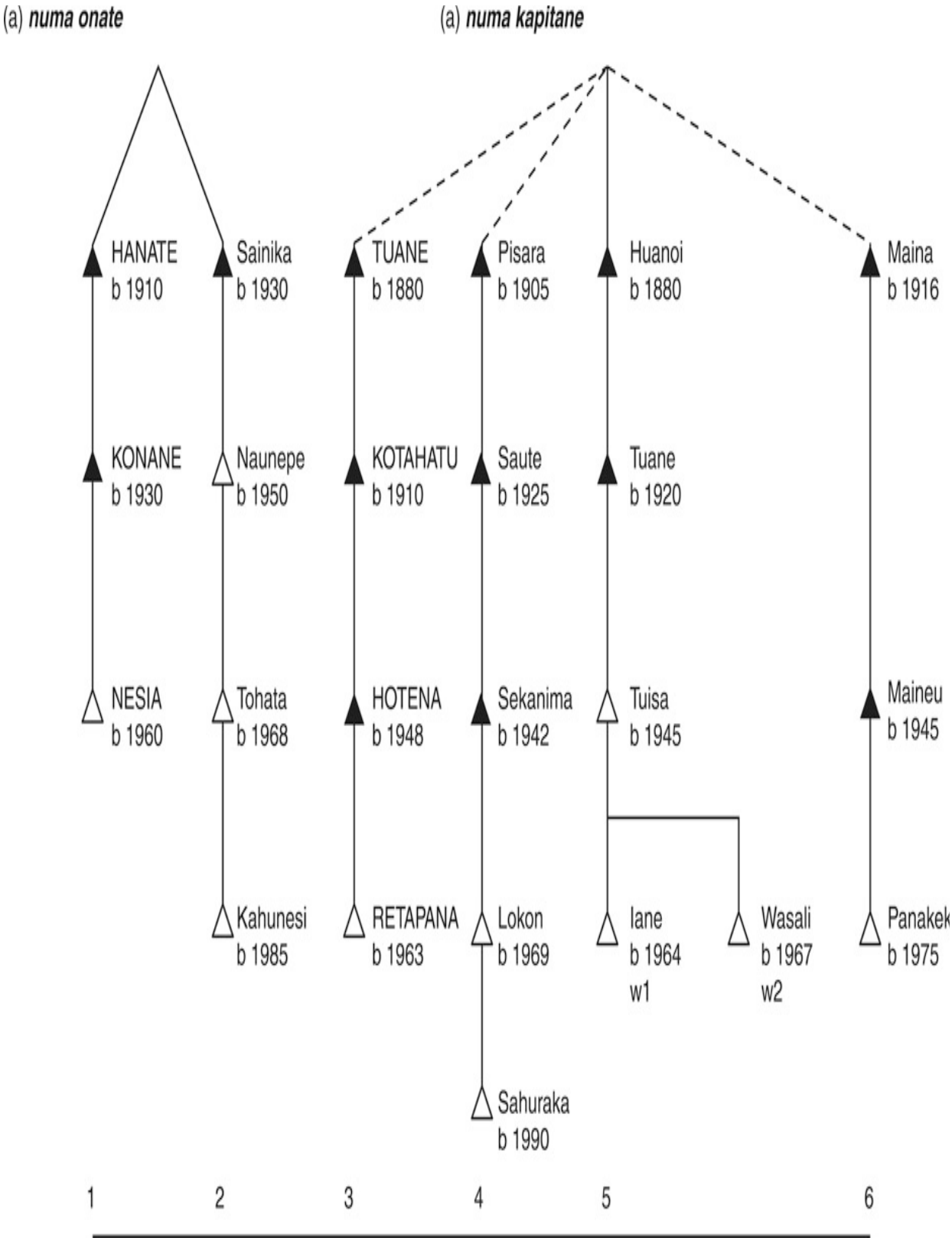


Figure 4.2 Patrilines associated with the ***numa monne*** of the clan Neipani-tomoien in Rouhua, as of 2015. Numbers refer to patrilines identified, broken lines show linkage where no supporting genealogical data

are available, and capitalized names indicate succession of officeholders. Dates of birth are in many cases approximate.

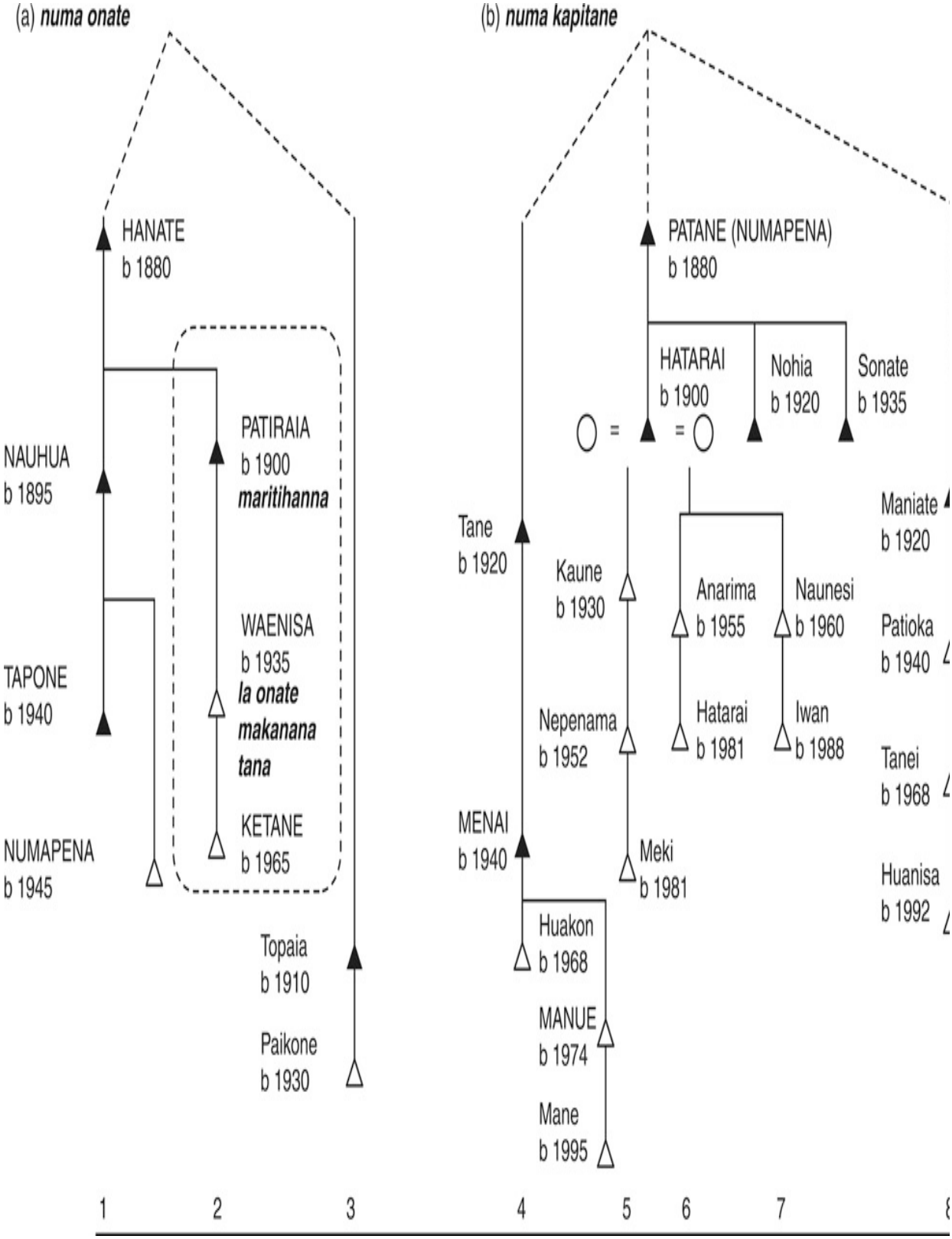


Figure 4.3 Patrilines associated with the sacred houses of the clan Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua. Numbers refer to patrilines identified, broken lines show linkage where no supporting genealogical data are available, and capitalized names indicate succession of officeholders. Names in bold italic are titles of officeholders in addition to ***ia onate*** (a) and ***kapitane*** (b), associated with a third sacred house marked by the dotted rectangle. Dates of births are in many cases approximate. The genealogical data are for 1990, before the creation of a new sub-clan Sounaue-kapanusa (see Figure 3.4).

kapitane, but is a clan that has grown markedly since 1970 and consists of at least four identifiable patrilines, tracing their origins over three or more generations to Temene, Solatu-Iako, Patetu and Natulori. Sounaue-ainakahata (Figure 4.3) is the largest local clan in Rouhua, and amongst Nuaulu as a whole. It presents a more complex picture, and illustrates several interesting features. There were eight separate patrilines in 1990, before the creation of the separate sub-clan Sounauekapanusa from patriline 5. There is also an additional sacred house (bounded by the dotted line in Figure 4.3), which has special responsibility for guarding the ***suane*** village sacred house, and in leading the ***kahuae*** dance.

Structurally, although 'kinship' in the sense of genealogy does not always connect the two ***numa monne*** of a clan, they are connected through the constant exchange of ritual services, while genealogically they are connected to networks of kin in other clans through mothers, daughters and sisters. Thus, there is a tension between clan solidarity expressed through the exchange of services, and the solidarity of genealogically (blood) related persons acquired through marriage. This tension between clan sentiment expressed in ritual exchange connecting two sacred houses and the genealogical sentiment expressed through the sacred houses themselves is diagrammed in Figure 4.4.

The final point that needs to be made about ***numa monne*** at this stage is that while in small clans they actually correspond to two physical sacred houses (and this may have been the standard pattern in the highlands, with multiple occupation by conjugal pairs and their immediate kin), as the population has grown, most sacred house members have come to live in separate physical houses (also called ***numa***), a trend encouraged by an increasing culture of nuclear family dwellings. It is because a sacred house sends out 'offshoots' or 'suckers' (***hatan anae***), to use a metaphor drawn from sago palm propagation – by creating and nurturing other separate physical dwellings – that it can perhaps best be seen as a 'mother-house' in the sense used by Tongli (1994: 28). Thus, we can diagram the relationship between ordinary dwellings and sacred houses, first as a kind of vegetative propagation, and second as sustained by an ongoing exchange and sharing relationship (Figure 4.5).

In some clans there are dedicated sacred houses other than a ***numa onate*** and ***numa kapitane***, such as ***numa saruana*** (specifically for hosting ancestral

spirits summoned during séances), ***numa maritihanna*** (for the guardian of the ***suane*** sacred house) and ***numa nuhune*** (used in birth rituals). These structures are physically similar to other ***numa monne***. However, whether or not they are present varies over time and between clans. Thus, in 2015 in Rouhua Matoke had a ***numa nuhune***, Soumori a ***numa saruana***, and Sounaue a ***numa maritihanna***, while in Moni there were two ***numa saruana***.

The constitutive relations of households, residence and the domestic group[3]

The basic structural model of Nuaulu society introduced in Chapter 1 might seem to predict that on marriage a newly established couple will reside with the groom's parents, that is, patri-virilocally. This is also the arrangement that Nuaulu say ancestors would prefer, and which households seek to work towards. However, as we have also seen, the failure to meet agreed marriage-wealth payments generally means that most couples reside uxorilocally, at least initially and for some part of the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Where it is possible for a couple to reside in the house of the groom's father, this will usually be an elder son, partly because there is an expectation that he will succeed to the household headship and inherit the physical dwelling, and partly because by the time younger sons marry there is more pressure on space within the dwelling.

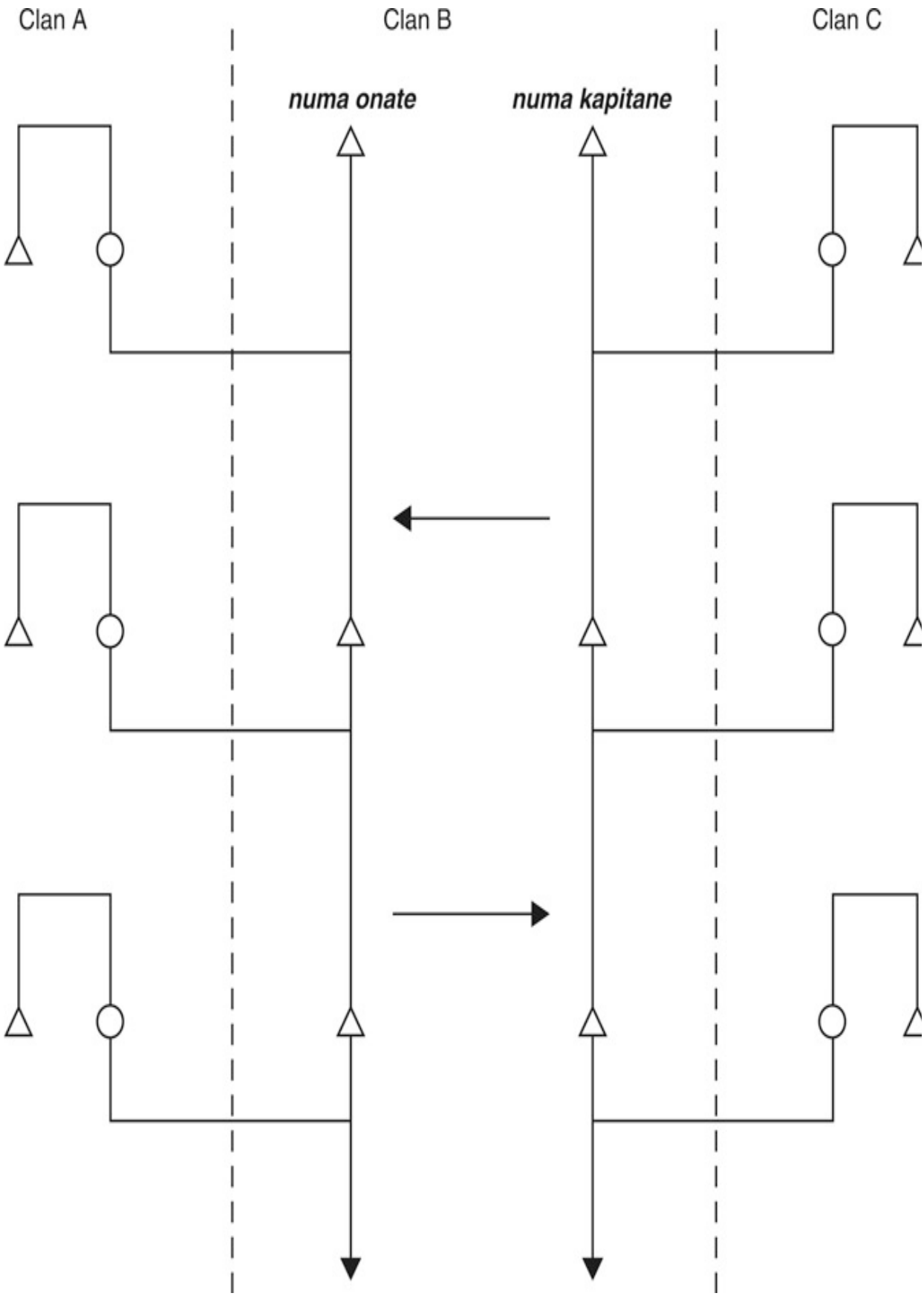

Clan A
Clan B
Clan C
numa onate
numa kapitane

Figure 4.4 Tension between clan solidarity (expressed through the exchange of services) and genealogical (blood) solidarity of related persons acquired through marriage.

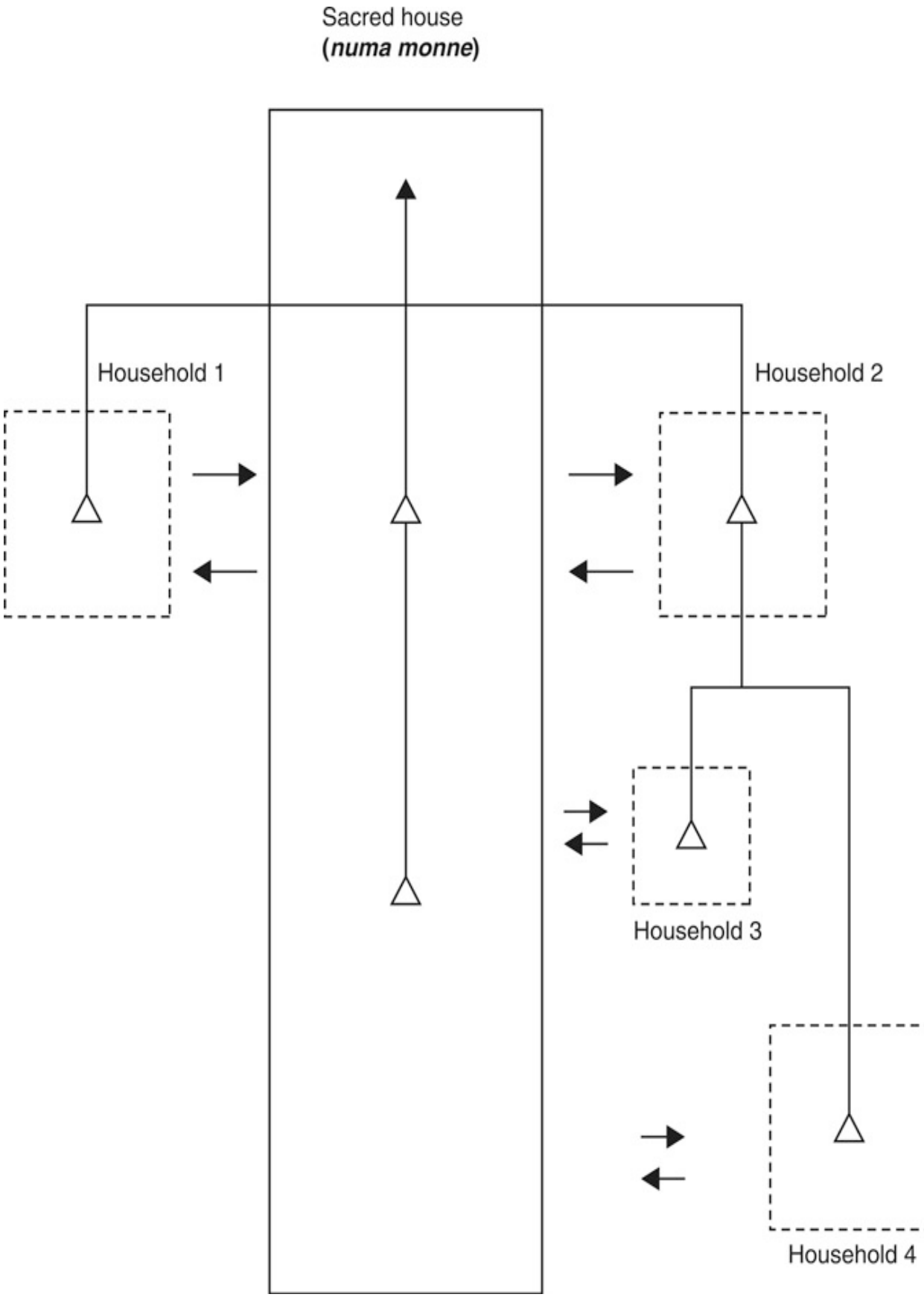

Sacred house
(*numa monne*)
Household 1
Household 2
Household 3
Household 4

Figure 4.5 Relationship between ordinary dwellings and sacred houses, as an exchange and sharing relationship.

When a couple establishes a new household it is, therefore, ideally patrivirilocal, though pressure on suitable land and crowding of housing in small areas often makes this difficult. Indeed, there is an expectation (realized more in the past) that all members of a clan (and within that, those with the same sacred house affiliation) will occupy a contiguous space in a local settlement. Each clan is therefore in theory patrilocal, people living close to other clan people, but this pattern has altered with population growth. As villages have grown and there is less space available near clan sacred houses for new dwellings to occupy, so clan households have become increasingly dispersed. The only settlement where there is a complete match between clan membership and locality is in Hahualan. The match in Aihisuru between 1970 and 1980 was good, and there were approximations to this ideal in Bunara and Rouhua in 1970, which became increasingly less good up to 2015. The establishment of an entirely new settlement at Tahena Ukuna around 1980, later to become Nuanea, allowed for the possibility of clan spatial contiguity from the beginning, while the movement of entire clans from Watane (Niamonae) at this time allowed for the restoration of contiguity amongst the remaining clans: Kamama and Peinisa. Figure 4.6 shows how the residences of related persons were grouped together in the village of Rouhua in 1971.

With the agreement of the clan and immediate relatives of a bride, a new separate physical dwelling will be occupied on the birth of the first child, even if a husband still has ***iae nisi pina*** obligations to his in-laws. A move often becomes imperative once the first child has arrived and shortly after this – usually the length of time it takes for a house to be built – the shift actually occurs. With ***iae nisi pina*** marriage there is probably greater pressure to set up a separate household, but usually this is still uxorilocal unless there is an arrangement whereby the groom returns to his father's house or village. All this makes for a generally unclear pattern within a single settlement.

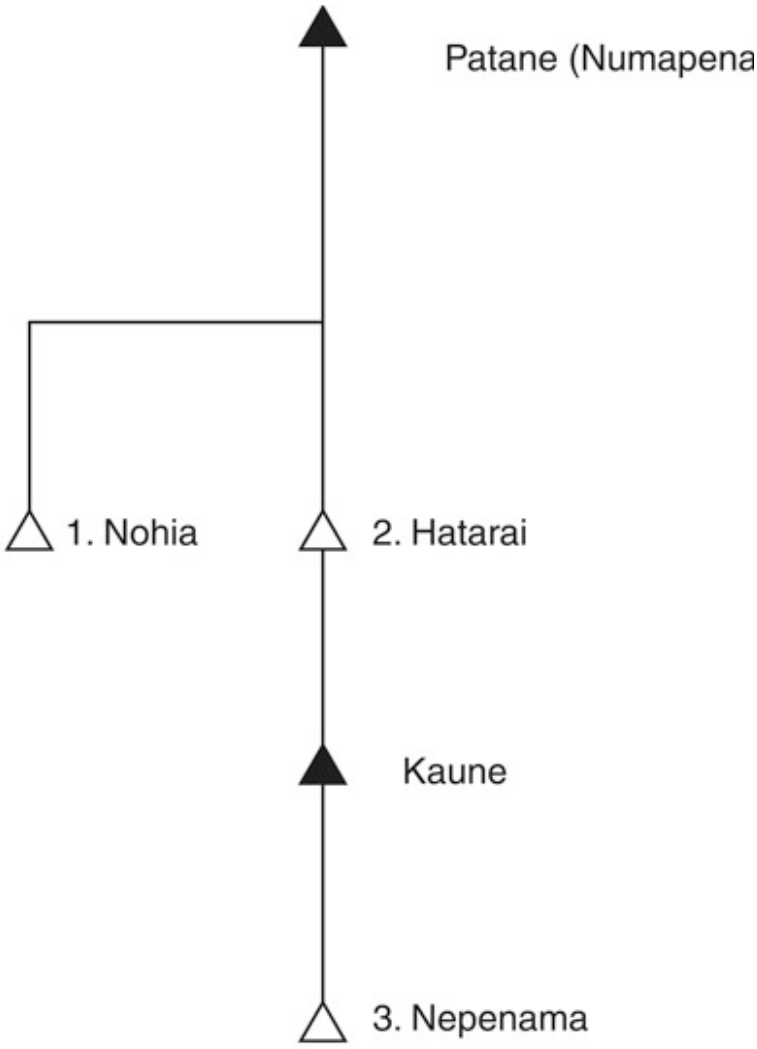
Those who live in a single neolocal physical dwelling are known as a ***numa matae***, or ***numa mato ai osa***, literally 'the house where one begins'. A head of household here, or in any other kind of household, will describe all its members as ***we hehu ka***, and as a house grows to include three generations, ***we amomo***, meaning all those in a ***momoko*** (grandchild-grandparent) relationship. Indeed, the term ***momoi*** is often used to address a household head.

Some married men consider that they have two residences: the house of their wife's parents and that of their father's father. I heard this from Utapina

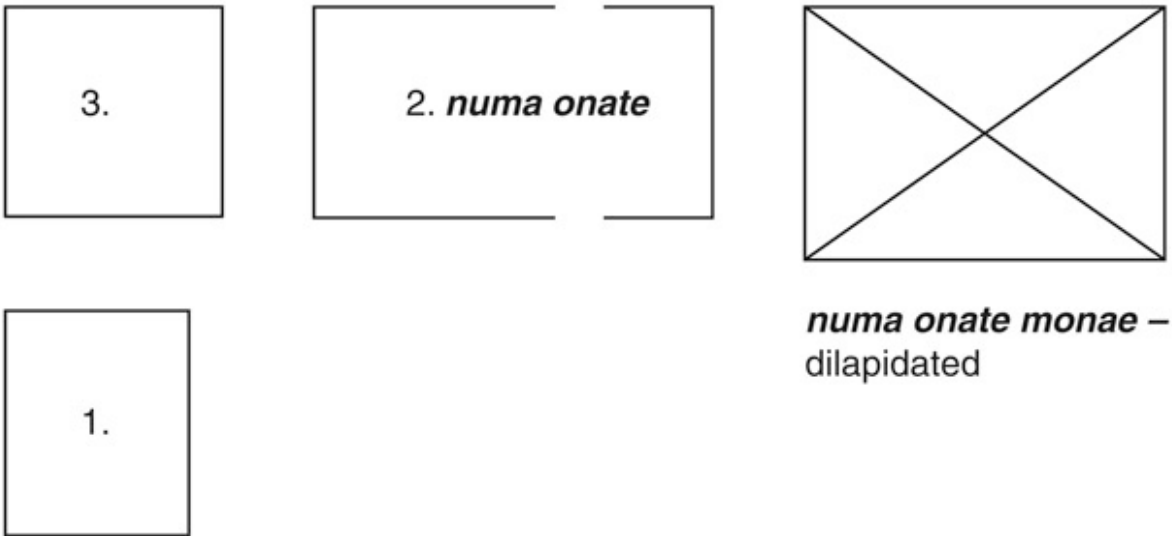
Kamama in Niamonae during 1970, and one can see why this might be a good description in an ***iae nisi pina*** situation. However, in the same year I was also able to observe repeatedly that Lihuta Matoke-pina in Rouhua – who never married up until the time of his untimely death in 1990 through close contact with an electric power cable – slept and ate more-or-less in two households, alternating between that of his half-brother Saniau (the son of his father Surita by a former wife) and that of Paikone Sounaue-ainakahata. Lihuta was unrelated to Paikone through any demonstrable genealogical link, but fostered by him partly on the grounds that Paikone was a classificatory brother of his mother Asue.

The fundamental daily activities of the household are economic: its members pooling labour, property and produce to provide for the common hearth. However, on occasions clan allegiance may override domicile (as when a married women and her children temporarily reside with her parents). In ritual terms the household is only a unit in a minimal sense, as when organizing – say – a first fruits ceremonies, or rituals relating to the building and maintenance of the dwelling itself. A household is subject to the authority of its head, who may in certain

(a)



(b)



numa onate monae – dilapidated

Figure 4.6 Residences of related persons grouped together spatially in the village of Rouhua, 1971: Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata and close kin.

circumstances (for example, the death of a male household head) be female. However, the position of such authority for either sex in old age is ambiguous. Thus, in 1970 Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata, who I then judged to be born around 1900, was still active and able to exercise his various responsibilities, while Patiraia, of a similar age, was feeble, and though capable of performing ritual duties, had abdicated his day-to-day role as a household head. When senility sets in even effective ritual authority wanes.

Often attached to a new domestic group after marriage are widows, widowers, orphans, foster-children, infirm relatives, usually related patrilineally. Children of one individual may frequently sleep in the house of a brother, and often if a man has a large number of children, he will deposit one or two in the care of a brother who has less children, without it becoming a permanent fostering or adoptive relationship. Kaisa Neipani-tomoien, who in 1970 was unmarried and with both parents dead, lived with his eldest brother, as is the preferred practice. They cultivated the same gardens, and in return he received food and clothes from his sister-in-law. Hitinisi Sounaue-ainakahata, who spent his early childhood after his father died in Yalahatan with his mother, at about 10 or 11 years of age moved to Rouhua, and in 1970 was living with his father's elder brother Tapone. Sometimes the connection underpinning membership or co-membership of a domestic group may be more complex, drawing in remoter kin. In 1970 Maimuna, then a 10-year-old daughter of Hotena Neipani-tomoien, was commonly to be seen eating with Komisi Soumori (her MFeBS) because her mother – Patima Soumori, Komisi's father's younger brother's wife – had died.

An uxorilocal residence originally entered into as part of an ***iae nisi pina*** arrangement may continue for life, sometimes because a wife has no other brother to head the household. But in most cases of ***iae nisi pina*** a couple seeks to set up a separate household as soon as they can. When this happens, a wife's parent or parents or other affinal kin may effectively become dependents in the new household, of which the husband is now head, the converse of the original ***iae nisa pina*** household. This was the case for Nehana Peinisa who moved in with Menai Sounaue-ainakahata and her daughter Patima, shortly before I arrived in Rouhua in early 1970, following the death of Patima's father Temene.

If a man dies, his widow and children may simply remain with his clan, but she may sometimes return to her natal group or remarry. If she leaves, she takes her immature children with her, the father keeping older children and later

reclaiming the children taken by their mother. Children always belong to the clan of their father except in exceptional circumstances. If a woman separates from or divorces her husband, she returns to her natal household, clan and village, taking immature children with her. The father will later reclaim these children. A man can similarly claim illegitimate children. Occasionally, a woman separating from or divorcing her husband will leave behind even immature children, who may be raised by the father's brother's wives. Also, in the case of an expulsion or the elopement of a widow, the immature children will remain behind to be taken care of by other close kin, usually sisters or brother's wives of the woman concerned. An example of this is the case of Surita treated at length in Chapter 8, where further consequences for household composition of marital separation and remarriage are also discussed.

Genealogical relations with members of other clans

Depending on residence patterns and the kind of marriage contracted, particular households will consist of varying combinations of consanguines and affines. Thus, sometimes a man's mother's brother may live in the same household (where the clan of the mother coincides, and where residence is uxorilocal), though in most cases a man's mother's brother is not in this situation. Either way, the relationship with a mother's brother is distinctive. It is helpful to distinguish between relations with the maternal clan, the affinal clan and the clan of a child's spouse.

Though exercising no control, there is a bond of affection between a mother's brother and a sister's offspring, a degree of intimacy not shown for a father's brother, and even a father. A mother's brother has clear responsibilities. These responsibilities are usually exercised by the eldest brother of a mother, though depending on the availability of male siblings it might sometimes be a younger brother. A mother's brother will, for example, take care of a sister's child when sick, including making invocations to the ancestors in relation to the child. When a sister's child is born, the mother's brother makes the arrangements for the accompanying feast. When his sister's daughter reaches puberty, it is he who purchases a sarong and makes a decorative headpiece (***senie pinamo***). A girl's mother's brother also receives part of her marriage-wealth. What he receives depends upon what he requests, but the payment usually includes a red porcelain plate with red cloth, perhaps 50,000 rupiah (in about 1990) and betel nut – regarded as symbolic recompense for his care of

the bride as she grew up. A girl's mother's brother will have been responsible for his sister's welfare while in the birth ***posune*** where her children were born, often assisting in its construction. He also gives advice to the bride and groom at their wedding. Sometimes the role of the mother's brother is more punitive, and he may intervene in conflicts between a sister and her children. I have witnessed occasional scoldings, and on one occasion it was a mother's brother who was deputed to find and return a girl who had eloped with a Christian lover. When a father or mother (or both) convert to Christianity or Islam, the children who do not accompany the parents become the responsibility of their mother's brother. By contrast, relations with a mother's sister are intimate (especially for girls), but with no expectation of specific formal responsibilities.

By contrast, the relationship between a male ego and his wife's brother is one of avoidance, extended to not mentioning personal names, not eating from the same dish and not being found in the same house together. Economic assistance is given by and to affines after marriage for the length of time a union lasts, and may even include a woman's father giving her husband land. However, a wife's sister and a wife's brother's wife are treated quite differently. There appears to be no question of a man avoiding his wife's parents, and certainly a woman does not avoid her husband's parents and works closely on a daily basis with her husband's mother.

In terms of relationships with the clans of the partners who children marry, a daughter-in-law will interact with her father-in-law with respect, but with some humour. In conversation, they seldom speak loudly, but the relationship is not as rigid as with ***sau monne*** (see Chapter 8). The relationship with a mother-inlaw is more intimate, and joking is permitted. Children and their mother-in-law may form coalitions for certain purposes against a father-in-law, or intervene on behalf of a father-in-law. A son-in-law will treat his mother-in-law with respect but enjoys a more intimate relationship with his father-in-law. A daughter-in-law is expected to cook for and take care of her husband's parents. Where there are several married sons, the daughters-in-law may take turns. A married daughter, her husband and her parents share food and other possessions. They will also pool labour resources and gardens, working together, especially when in an ***iae nisi pina*** relationship.

Ego-focused networks and the developmental cycle of domestic groups

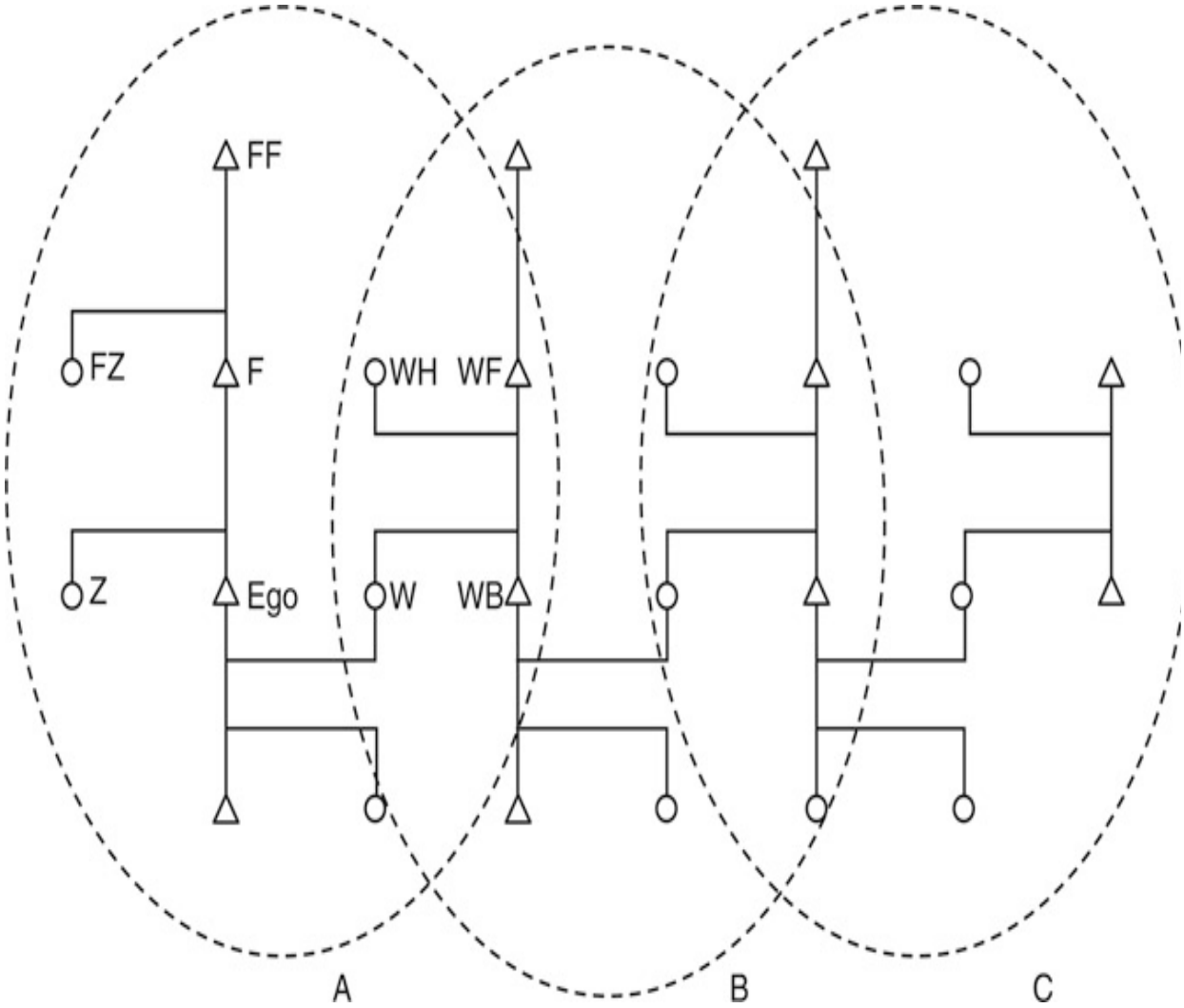


Figure 4.7 Model of Nuaulu kinship relations as constituted through overlapping patrifocal ego-centred networks.

So far, the picture of Nuaulu kinship organization that is emerging is of lines of descent affiliated to ‘houses’ where genealogical connections can be demonstrated internally and over shorter rather than longer periods, but where connections cannot necessarily be verified genealogically between lines within houses or between houses within clans. These lines are the basis for the formation of new households and within them domestic groups, the composition of which depends on a particular phase in a developmental cycle and the kind of marriage contracted. These latter influence the proportion of affines to consanguines, residence patterns and the relations of power and control at any one time. Such phase-dependent ego-centred networks are in no sense corporate groups, and although there is an obvious patrilineal bias, they overlap and their shape depends on the relations focused on a particular ego.

Figure 4.7 is an attempt to capture their structural attributes, each connecting two lineage-like groups within two different clans. Any one individual person may be a part of several 'kindreds' or ***enau***, whose members assist each other in various ways (***akahai umau***), each group focusing on other egos and each linked to different clans or providing different links with the clan of a wife. While in the past anthropologists have tended to emphasize the significance of kindreds in the societies of southeast Asia that do not have groups based on unilineal descent (Murdock 1960), it is clear from any empirical investigation of kinship relations that societies with descent groups also have un-named transient kindred-like groups constituted from networks of relations that emerge through the life-cycles of individuals. They arise to support the interests of a particular ego as they come into the world – a kind of security circle – and in response to their own interventions in the social world as they progress through life. They serve economic cooperation through reciprocal working arrangements, in times of social crisis, in disputes and in terms of general sociability. Such groupings have no ritual or formal status, but constitute networks of relations that mediate between the individual and those more formal groupings of which they belong, while all members command mutual respect.

A temporary ego-centred group of this kind might be said to be created through marriage, by a husband, wife and their immediate primary kin. These have an economic and organizational function but no ritual or formal status. The composition of such overlapping groups in terms of effective economic and social interactions will be partly determined by membership constituted through residence. Thus, where a man is a member of a household in his own clan, the kindred will be patrifocal, while if a man is a member of his wife's household membership will be biased towards that group. A person may be a member of many groups of this kind and thus have moral ties with other clans or duplicate links with his wife's clan via a different route and moral bond. Relationships between in-laws of the same sex are strong, of opposite sex ambiguous: they are related through kinship and affinity and yet are also potential marriage partners.

On marriage a couple will either initially reside patrilocally with the father of the husband, or uxorilocally in or near the house of the bride's parents. This latter arrangement is generally a consequence of marriages through elopement or ***iae nisi pina***, where a groom works for his wife's household and clan, in the absence of marriage-wealth, where there is a shortfall of marriage-wealth, or where it is otherwise part of a negotiated package. On the arrival of children the couple may set up a household of their own although, especially where still

indebted to the bride's household and wife-giving clan, may live separately but still be required to provide labour for the bride's group. In the 1970s there was still a lot of multi-occupancy of larger older houses, including sacred houses. Over the last few decades there has, however, been increasing single (nuclear family) occupancy of houses, with sacred houses becoming specialist spaces for feasts, ritual, the abode of ancestral spirits and the storing of valuables, rather than busy dwelling places. We can see here how the statistical significance of a particular residence arrangement following marriage can influence the way we understand normative developmental cycles of domestic groups. On the other hand, numerical data presented in terms of 'different kinds' of residential arrangement often mislead in playing-down the fact that these are transient phases, as people pass through different stages of a developmental cycle.

Kinship without biology

There are several Nuaulu synonyms – ***apiara, pakanana, kata*** (all of which can be glossed with AM *piara*) – to describe fostering and adoptive relationships. However, Nuaulu do not use separate words to distinguish one from the other. Nuaulu do recognize clearly in their shared norms and expectations the difference between a temporary relationship caring for a child who is not considered their own genetic offspring (fostering), and a relationship that is jurally permanent (adoption). There are 12 records for adoptive persons in this latter sense in the Nuaulu census database (1.6 percent of all records), a figure that is likely to be an underestimate given various stories and conversations. Some instances may be well-hidden given the practice of fully absorbing children into an adoptive clan. I am not aware that adoption and fostering practices have altered significantly over 45 years, nor the frequency of occurrence, though with population growth the total number of instances must have increased.

There are various circumstances in which a non-genetic child can be incorporated to varying degrees into a household or domestic group into which it was not born. Temporary arrangements may accompany the illness or incapacity of a mother. This will usually involve some other close patrilateral relative, such as a married brother, taking over the responsibility. An increasingly common situation in which temporary fostering is found is when either a parent (usually a mother) moves away for a time to attend school, or (more commonly) when a child moves away to attend school. A slightly

different case is that of Sante Soumori (b. 1955), who converted to Islam as an adolescent male and moved to Sepa from Rouhua to attend religious classes. He acquired an adopted father arranged by his birth father Komisi, who from time-to-time made gifts to compensate for his upkeep, in the form of coconut and copra.

Semi-permanent fostering may occur in order to provide parenting for the child of a dead mother, as when Waenisa Sounaue-ainakahata and Hunanoene Soumori adopted Natuhata (b. 1970), the son of Nohia Sounaue's dead wife Pereela. Such adoption is usually among close patrilateral relatives. A second is illustrated in the following case:

Case 4.1: Lihuta Matoke-pina (b. 1950)

The mother of Lihuta Matoke died before he reached puberty. His father (Pelauma) subsequently converted to Islam and moved to Rutah with Lihuta's younger brother. However, Lihuta wished to remain in Rouhua – he said he wanted to be able to eat pork – and was fostered by his father's elder brother, Surita. In 1971 Lihuta had yet to go through his puberty ceremony and was living in Surita's household and working for him, even though he had use rights over all his father's former land and trees.

However, in similar circumstances children may be adopted from a clan that is neither that of the husband nor that of the wife, though legitimated through tracing genealogical links. This was the case for Marae Sounaue-ainakahata (b. 1972), adopted by Hotena Neipani-tomoien and his first wife Patima Soumori in Rouhua, for Rahimaa Sopanani (b. 1960–5) adopted by Tuane Neipani-tomoien and Pereela Matoke-pina; and for Nikita Sounaue-aipura (b. 1953) adopted by Hatu Neipanitomoien and Hunahane Soumori in Bunara. Where children move between clans through adoption and are absorbed into a different clan, it is customary for the acknowledged biological kin of the child to receive a plate and length of red cloth to compensate the ancestral spirits of that clan for the loss.

Where a mother or both parents have died, it is quite usual for a sister or brother to foster one or more children, or where a parent moves away, is ill, or who divorces and remarries. If a mother should die or be unable to suckle her child, it is usually fostered by a sister or the mother's mother, and if possible an attempt is made to suckle and to rear it on solid foods. Children may move from their mother's clan to the clan of her husband and retain their clan name. This is the situation elaborated in Case 4.2:

Case 4.2: Napuae Soumori (b. 1954)

Napuae is the fostered son of Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua. He has land at Niamonae, which he inherited from his father. This is too far away to cultivate and so effectively his total land amounts to one ***wasi*** unit, the gift of Hatarai. When Alewa married Hatarai, her son by her first dead husband recognized Hatarai as his ***ama piara*** (AM *bapa piara*), although Napuae was Soumori and Hatarai was Sounaue. While Napuae will not strictly inherit from Hatarai, the latter has provided for him until his marriage and made him gifts of land. On marriage he will still be under an obligation to provide for him but mainly because Hatarai is his mother's husband (Figure 4.8).

The same situation is also exemplified by the cases of Haka (b. 1957) and Patona Soumori (b. 1955), who were both adopted by Manesi Sounaue-aipura and Pipine Soumori in Bunara. In these examples of what might usually be called 'fostering' the child is never fully incorporated and returns to his or her clan on reaching maturity.

If a woman remarries into a different clan, all her children, and sometimes, though not always, even the very young, remain in the clan of their father, cared for by the father in the case of a divorce, or by foster-parents, or a father's brother in other circumstances. A brother may not always be in a position to undertake this and in practice any suitable couple in the clan may be recruited, children often being farmed out to different couples (e.g. Asue Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua, b. 1930–35). Though, from this point onwards, the biological mother takes no hand in their rearing, the affective bond remains and in later years a mother will be visited, and work done on her behalf. Thus, biological parentage is still recognized. Nevertheless, a foster child's major obligation remains to its foster-parents, whose status supersedes its real living parent. The children, remaining with their father's clan, maintain the usual rights of inheritance.

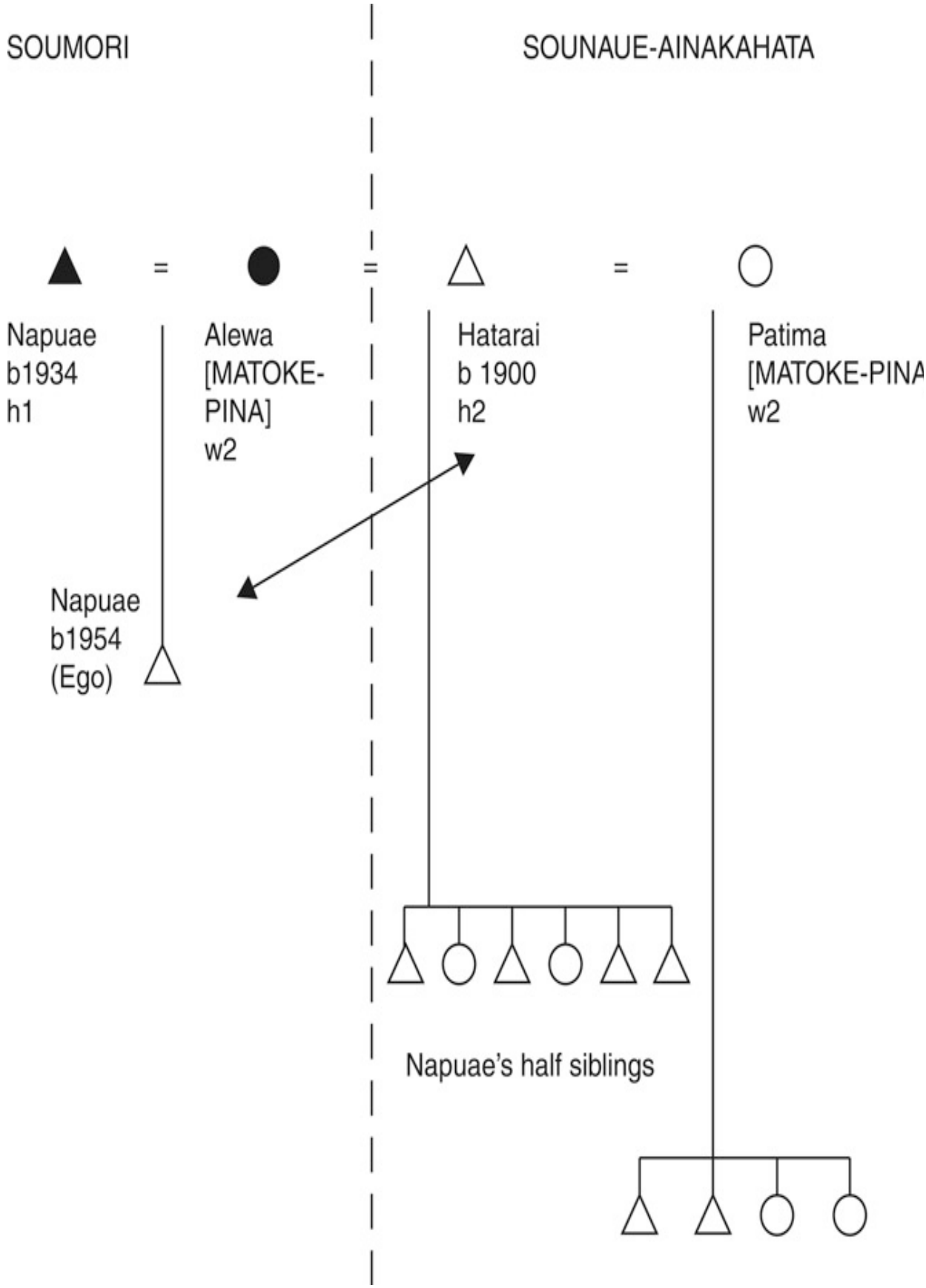

SOUMORI
SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA
=
=
=
Napuae
b1934
h1
Alewa
[MATOKE-
PINA]
w2
Hatarai
b 1900
h2
Patima
[MATOKE-PINA
w2
Napuae
b1954
(Ego)
Napuae's half siblings

Figure 4.8 Fostering a male child following death of a father and remarriage of a mother: the ***ama piara*** relationship (marked by the thick double-headed arrow) between Napuae Soumori and Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua. Data: 1971.

An infertile union is more likely to end in divorce than continue with the adoption of surrogate children. However, where one or other partner is sterile or is otherwise unable to have children, a brother, or more distant patrilateral clan relative, may sometimes give a child to another brother (***irui anai osi amai manonte***). When a couple living in an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage and residing uxorilocally gives a child to a wife's brother or sister for this reason, or a virilocally-residing couple are given a child from the clan of a wife, this may be a deliberate arrangement to continue a line of descent where no genetic son is available. This arrangement, known in Ambonese Malay as *ambil anak*, has been of theoretical and comparative interest in the literature (e.g. Murdock 1949: 21, 45) as it has been seen as evidence of matrilateral descent, a temporary suspension of the usual position in which one unilineal rule is applied in particular individual cases, the other in another. Where there is descent traced through the male line, and also through an adopted child from the wife's clan, this is seen as evidence of double descent. There is no suggestion that the implications of cross-clan adoption in an ***iae nisi pina*** context implies this in a Nuaulu context (see Chapter 3), and although the term *ambil anak* is used, it is so in a rather loose way to refer to a variety of circumstances in which children are adopted.

More common is the acquisition of a child in lieu of marriage-wealth or in lieu of part of the marriage-wealth (***hunonini tau mansia***, 'paying with a person'). Such children are known in Ambonese Malay as *anak harta*. An example is Naupati (b. 1980), son of Eli Tanlai and Nerita Matoke-pina, who was given to Inane Matoke-pina (the son of Temene and Nerita's brother) and Patima Neipaninesinopu. Unsa Sounaue-ainakahata, who several times married non-Nuaulu husbands, but finally settled down with Peda and had children of her own, later adopted Teneam (b. 1983) from her brother Anarima as compensation for her husband not having paid marriage-wealth. It is customary to pay with a person to a wife's brother when marrying outsiders, where the monetary component of marriage-wealth tends to be high, as there is a fear that the outsider husband will take the Nuaulu wife away and thereby the clan will lose the services of both.

In some cases a child is acquired in return for a previous exchange, as with Arike (b. 1965), the son of Kahute Neipani-nesinopu and Houa Matoke-hanaie who was given to the Huni clan in Bunara in return for previous exchange. Thus, traditions of exchanging adoptive kin can continue down the generations

between the same descent lines. The most arresting examples of this are where adopted children are compensation for a homicide (***ia ikine ruhu-ruhu***, or simply ***ruhuruhu***), again ‘paying with a person’. As with some other adoptive relations this may continue over several generations. I have data on four cases of ***ruhu-ruhu***. Two are described in Case 4.3, where Komisi Soumori received Waka Matokehanaie in return for the murder of his grandmother in Aihisuru, and this is continued in a subsequent adoption by his brother’s son Napuae of Ananoina Peinisa:

Case 4.3: Waka Matoke-hanaie (b. 1977)

I first heard about this case in 1970, but I have since made additional notes on the case from 1981 and 1990. Rosemary Bolton also refers to this case in her census of 1995. A Matoke-hanaie husband living in Aihisuru murders a Soumori person in a nearby garden. As a consequence, the clan Matokehanaie experienced much sickness and death due to the wrath of Soumori ancestral spirits. After consulting with the Matoke ancestors, it was agreed that Aipinua Matoke-hanaie and Houa Peinisa should make a gift of a young female child to the clan Soumori in exchange for having killed the woman. This child was Waka, who was formally adopted in 1981, but acquired a second name (Hunahane) and then a third (Puane) due to chronic sickness. In 1990 this child was 12 years old and living in the ***numa onate*** Soumori with Komisi Soumori and Patima Sounaue-ainakahata, who she called ***ama*** and ***ina***, respectively, and her older male adoptive siblings who she called ***mema***. Komisi’s grandmother had married Aipinua’s ancestor, but had been murdered by him. This is therefore an exchange in recompense for murder (Figure 4.9) through ***hunonini tau mansia*** (‘paying with a person’). Her birth mother died before 1990, and she has now converted to Islam as Nurcaya and

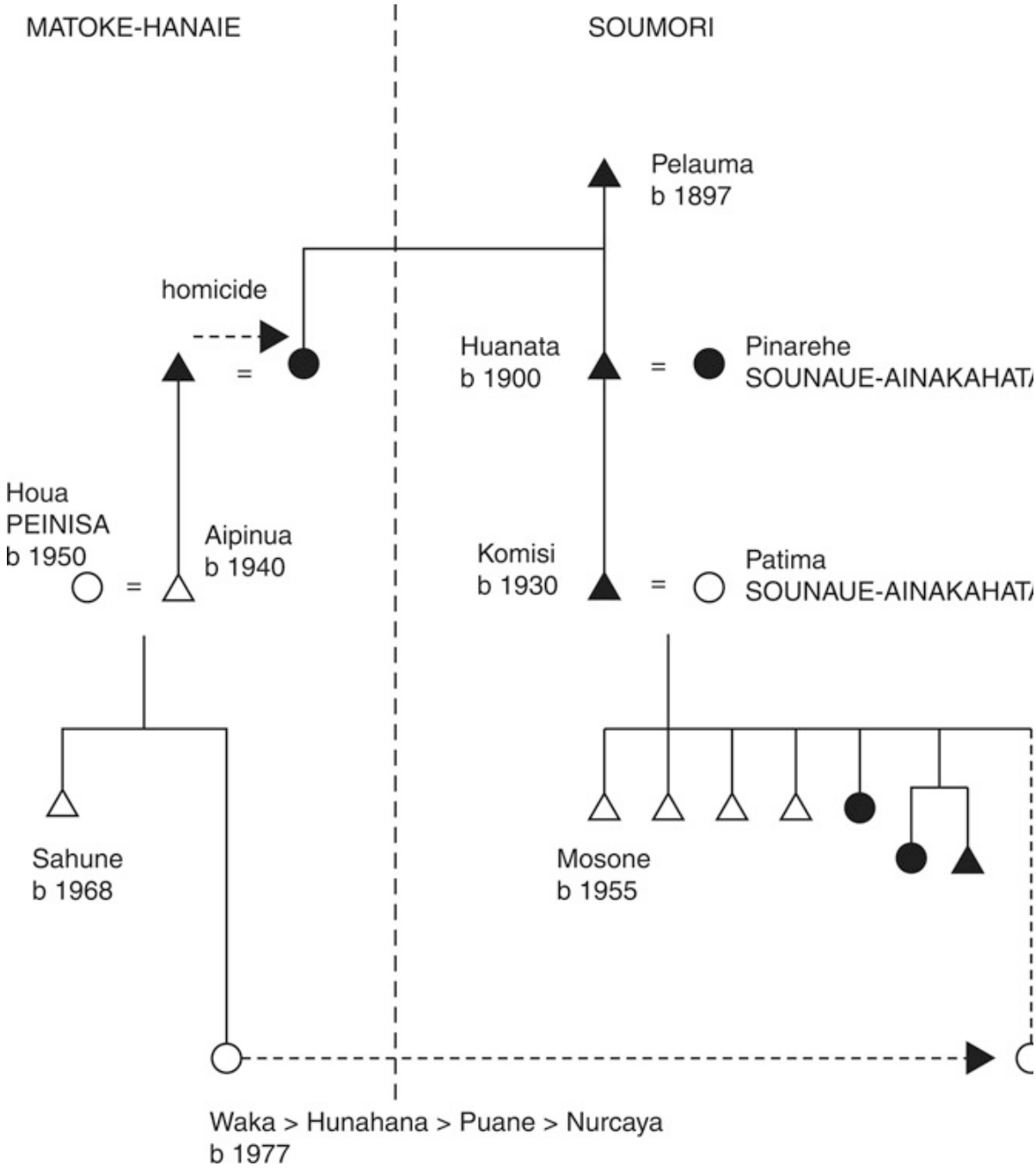


Figure 4.9 Relationships underpinning transfer of a child from Matoke-hanaie to Soumori in compensation for murder (***ia iki ruhu-ruhu***). Data as of 1990.

married. A girl, Ananoina (Pinasina) Peinisa born in Bunara 1975 was given to Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, an arrangement regarded as a continuation of the historic debt to Komisi.

A third example is that of Nisasou Huni described in Case 4.4, which in turn is similar to that described for Uman Neipani-tomoien (b. 1987) in Rouhua,

brought up by Manapusia Peinisa and Sukunima Soumori but given as a child by the clan Neipani-tomoien as a consequence of an historic murder:

Case 4.4: Nisasou Huni (b. 1988)

Nitanesia Huni and his wife Pekahatu Numanaeta, living in Bunara, were given Nisasou (also known as Kapane) Soumori (b. 1988) as a baby in recompense for the killing of a member of the Huni clan some generations previously. As the person murdered was male, a male six-month-old baby was given. The child was first brought to the Soumori clan house from Bunara as a gift to the ***numa onate*** in Rouhua, but was cared for by Mosone and his wife Pinarehe Sounaue-ainakahata, probably because it was not weaned.

Notes

1 Comparatively, the ‘house’ is widely seen by ethnographers of eastern Indonesia as an essential concept for discussing kinship and marriage (Forth 2001: 97), but while in some localities it appears as a local descent group and marital exchange unit, with alliance categories referring to houses not clans (Forth 2001: 114; Gunawan 2000: 56; Pauwels 1994: 85, 2009: 28, 248; Renard-Clamagirand 1982), among the Nuaulu it would be difficult to argue that it has any kind of conceptual priority over the clan. Indeed, it would be difficult to say whether it is the house or the clan that is the ‘basic social unit’.

2 The term ***numa*** is used for any kind of house, including ***numa monne*** and ordinary dwellings. There are some instances where an individual has a personal prohibition on the use of the word ***numa***. In such cases the word ***panene*** is used instead.

3 In this book I use ‘dwelling’ to refer to the physical house, so as not to confuse it with the connotations of ‘house’ as a conceptual and organizational entity. ‘Household’ refers to those occupying a dwelling at any one time, ‘residence’ to where they live, and ‘domestic group’ in recognition that some households comprise more than one domestic group. I avoid where possible using the ambiguous term ‘family’ (Parkin 1997: 28).

5
Language and the social cognition of relationality

Words and categories

Among many other things, the use of words enables humans to conveniently identify individuals, relationships and groups in a way that facilitates social practice, and which ultimately increases the likelihood of effective mating, reproduction and survival. There is, of course, no guarantee that words match individuals, relationships or groups in a way that reliably identifies genetic consanguines. Sometimes words are used in ways that prioritize social kinship over genetic kinship, and the reproduction of social groups over biology, while different individuals vary in the way they use kin terms (Heider 1978; Kemp 1983; Zeitlyn 2005). Indeed, it is important to examine the broader context in which kin terms are actually employed and kin are classified (Hagen 2006: 52–3; Zeitlyn 1993: 83). Relationship designations generally precede and frame subsequent experience (Hagen 2006: 66), and in some cases what we call 'kinship terms' may not be invoked with reference to genealogies or formal relationships at all (Zeitlyn 1993: 201). Indeed, it has been suggested (Read, Fischer and Lehman 2014: 15–17) that some of the classic 'problems' of kinship theory – such as distinguishing descriptive from classificatory terminologies – fall away if instead we radically re-envisage kinship so that it is no longer seen as *emerging from* genealogy at all but is rather a logically separate conceptual 'kin term space' which permits the handling of an otherwise impossibly large and complex network of genealogical pathways. Kinship terminologies, after all, can only

be based on what individuals experience through interactive social relations as they mature, irrespective of genealogy or genetics.

At the same time, the multifarious consequences of social change, the emergent properties of the systems that change generates, and the movement of cultural categories and practices that this entails, repeatedly challenge the degree of correspondence between words and the categories through which we interpret the experience of kinship, and beyond that all aspects of our social worlds. However, the correspondence is generally sufficiently frequent for these cultural proxies to be selected for and retained over the longer term. Ultimately, as Deacon (1997) puts it, symbolic communication must allow for the creation of categories of persons so that relations between them can be regulated by knowledge of the symbolic system itself rather than dependence on perceptual recognition, which would limit it to immediate presence and spatial proximity.

In this chapter we look at the ways in which language maps onto categories of relationship that organize the Nuaulu social world. This will supply clues as to historically significant marriage patterns and normative patterns of behaviour between kin and affines, but will also show that in order to understand how these terms work we need to look at the overall way in which relationships are described and individuals situated in a social universe. Figure 5.1 summarizes Nuaulu social classifiers and lexical resources in a way that illustrates the connectedness between various elements of the system: pronouns (the least specified in terms of individual reference), kinship terms, generational terms, developmental terms and personal names (the most specified in terms of individual reference).

The calculus of social classification

The use of pronouns and personal names represent the opposite ends of a continuum of social classification: the first the least inclusive way in which the social world can be mapped through language, the second the most specific. In between stand genealogical terms, which are summarily listed in Table 5.1, for the time being as radicals rather than radicals with qualifiers, and a consideration of which we will return to later in this chapter. Personal pronouns provide a crude outline of basic social distinctions, separating self

from other, single relationships from plural relationships, and insider from outsider, but not all pronominal sets do this to the same degree, and some even build in additional features such as gender and rank. Nuaulu personal pronouns follow a pattern familiar from other Austronesian and Malayo-Polynesian languages (Blust 2009): ***au*** (first person, singular, exclusive), ***ami*** (first person, plural, exclusive), ***ita*** (first person, plural, inclusive), ***ano*** (second person, sing.), ***omi*** (second person, plural), ***ia*** (third person, sing.) and ***sio*** (third person, plural). There is no differentiation according to gender. Moreover, Nuaulu does not display dual pronouns, though plural pronouns can be formed by attaching an appropriate direct object enclitic to a particular number, for example ***ua*** + ***-ma*** > ***uama***: 'the two of us' (Bolton 1990: 56). By contrast, personal names focus on a lot of information about the persons so described, but if all names were completely unique they would be no guide in themselves to any of the regularities of social space-time.

During one lifespan any human individual is referred to or addressed using four basic kinds of ascriptive term: (1) temporary and relative ego-centred terms in a pronominal set; (2) permanent but relative ego-centred terms indicating a relationship between two or more persons; (3) temporary but absolute terms indicating membership of a developmental phase; and (4) personal names which are both permanent and absolute. Each of these four types differs in some important respects. Overall, although terms may change during the course of a lifespan, an individual always acquires more than are shed. This is most obviously true of relationship terms, and is best illustrated by those terms employed to categorize immediate genealogical space. Thus, a newborn has only ascendant relationships,

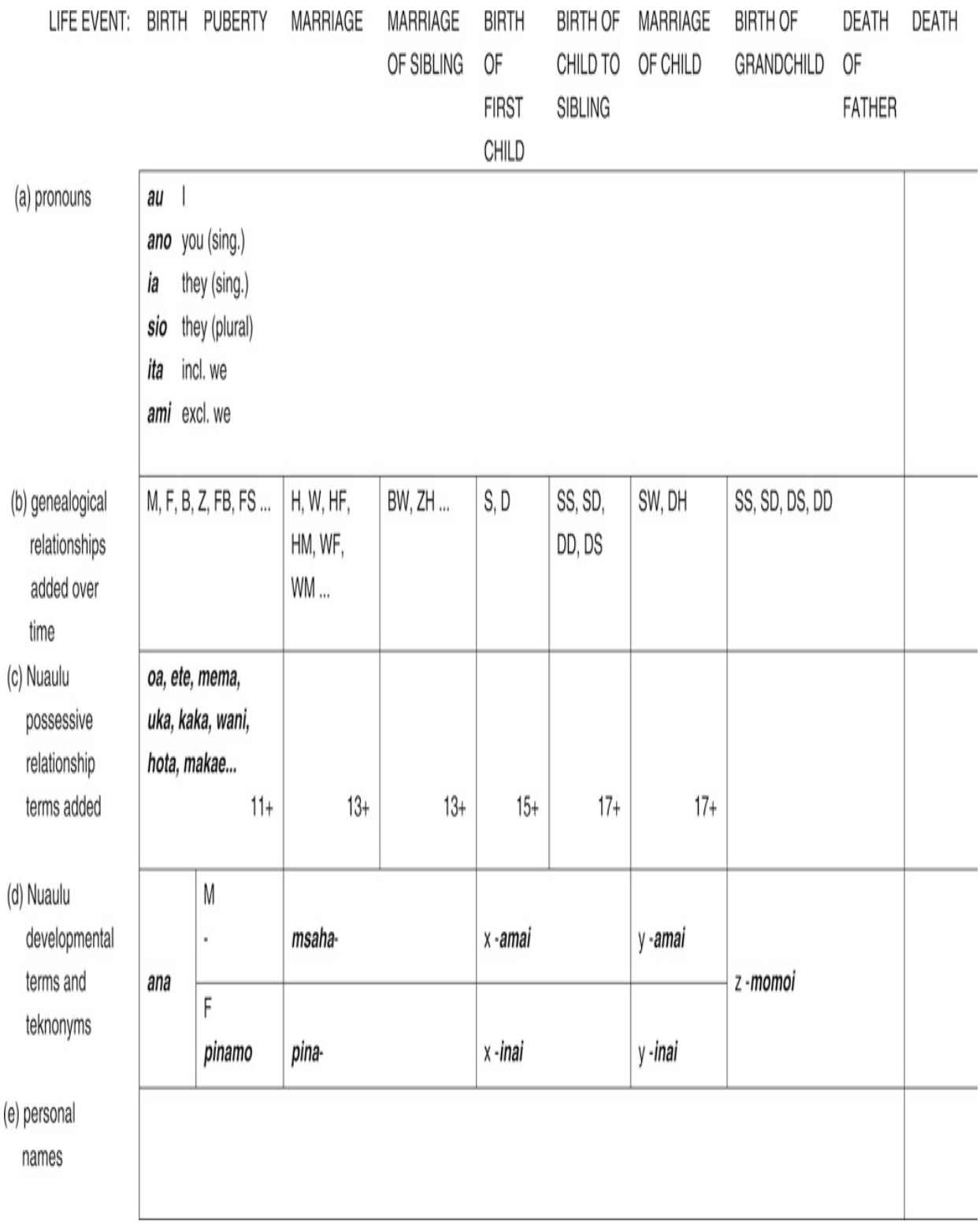


Figure 5.1 Systemic connections between different kinds of Nuaulu social classifier.

and perhaps some lateral ones. As they mature, they acquire more lateral relationships, on marriage a lot more, and with the birth of a first child begin

to acquire descendent relationships, which can expand depending on how long they live and how fecund their living descendants are. This is reflected in the terms applied to these relationships, though the eventual total number of terms available is finite. The association between acquisition of number of relationships and number of terms employed is shown in rows (b) and (c) of Figure 5.1. By contrast, terms for developmental phases change but do not accumulate in this way.

Table 5.1 Basic Nuaulu kinship terms of reference

1	***ama***	F, [FB]
2	***ina***	M, [MZ, FZ]
3	***ana***	S, D; ms: eBC, PeBSC, PeZSC; fs: PeBCC, PeZCC; [FZD, WZD, WBS …]
4	***momo***	PP, CC
5	***upu***	PPP, CCC
6	***nusi***	PPPP, CCCC
7	***toa***	PPPPP, CCCCC
8	***hota***	ms: Z, FBD, MZD; fs: B, FBS, MZS
9	***kaka***	same sex, ms: eB, FeBS, MeZS; WeB, WeZ same sex, fs: eZ, FeBD, MeZD; HeB, HeZ
10	***wani***	same sex, ms: yB, FyBS, MyZS; same sex, fs: yZ, FyBD, MyZD; yBW, eBW; ms: WyZ
13	***makae***	same sex, ms: MBS, FZS same sex, fs: MBD, FZD
14	***hota makakae***	opposite sex, ms: MBD, FZD opposite sex, fs: MBS, FZS
15	***ete***	MeB, MyB, ZeS, ZyS, ZeD, ZyD; HZS, HZD, MFBS, MFFBSS
16	***oa***	FeB, FeZ, MeZ; ms – yBS, yBD, FyBSC, FyZSC; fs – yBC, PyBCC, PyZCC; MeZH, FeBW, FeZH; WyBD, WyBS, WZS, WZD
17	***oa uka***	FZ (ms), HM (fs)
18	***mema***	FyB;FyZH, MyZH
19	***uka***	FyZ, MyZ, FBDD, FBSS; FyBW, yBW, eBW
20	***saha***	W, H

21	***msahane***	DH, SW
22	***mananue***	SW
23	***sau***	ZH, ZHZ, BW, BWB; ms: WB, WBW, WBWB; fs: HZ, HZH, HZHZ
24	***sau monne***	ms: WBW; fs: HZH

Combined data from Ellen (unpublished, and Bolton 1999b: 77–80, with additions from Tongli 1994). Where words are additionally used in some contexts as terms of address they are placed in square brackets [ ].

In Nuaulu terminology for developmental phases there is an extensive overlap with relationship terms, but this need not be so. Developmental terms are symmetrical between the sexes, except that the term for an initiated but unmarried female (***pinamou***) is invariably used while an equivalent male term is not. Girls on reaching puberty are called ***pinamou***, but boys retain their personal name until married. On marriage, terms are adopted which emphasize the event as joining together two clans: that is, they stress affinity at the expense of descent. Thus, if Soumori is the name of the clan of a woman who has been taken from the clan Sounaue-ainakahata, then the husband becomes ***msaha-*** (or ***saa-***, an elision of ***msaha***) Sounaue and the wife ***pina***-Soumouri. In 1970 Maimuna Neipanitomoien addressed Mosone Soumori's newly married wife Aharena Sounaueainakahata (who was neither close kin nor directly related) as ***Pina***-Soumouri, while Mosone himself became ***Msaha***-Sounaue. Similarly, if Matoke is the clan of the husband then the wife becomes ***pina***-Matoke. When Napuae Soumori married Siloo Neipani in 1970 (see Chapter 6), there were two ***pina***-Soumori who had to be differentiated, achieved using the terms ***pina***-Soumori Siloo and ***pina***-Soumori Aharena. Note that in all instances, both for reference and address, and for either gender, it is the clan name that is used, not the sub-clan (e.g. Sounaue, not [Sounaue-] ainakahata, and Matoke, not [Matoke-] hanaie), nor the name of the sacred house into which either spouse has married. Thus, the ***pina-/msaha-*** usage emphasizes the reciprocal and balanced character of the relationship between the clans of husband and wife at the time of marriage.

Schematically, the four types of social classifier can be plotted along a generalized-individualized continuum as shown in the vertical axis of Figure 5.1. Relationship terms are more individualized than pronouns, but still indicate abstract second-order social relationships into which most individuals will enter. The only limiting factors are gender, mortality and

fecundity. Nuaulu developmental terms are intermediate between relationship terms and personal names: initiation and marriage terms identifying individuals by specifying clan affiliation, while teknonyms increase the specificity by adopting a proxy personal name (Murdock 1949: 97); that is, the name of a son, daughter or grandchild stands for that of a father, mother or grandparent. But while personal names are the most individualized form of ascription, they may refer to more than one person, while one person may have more than one name.

The acquisition and use of personal names

I start with personal names (Ellen 1983), since in the life-cycle of any individual this is the first descriptor applied to a newborn child which places it in a social context.

However, it is not born with a personal name, and since teknonyms are derived from the personal names of children they, too, do not come automatically with birth. Children who are still-born neither possess a social identity, nor confer any additional identity on their parents. It is hardly surprising that un-named still-born children, incompletely separated from nature or assimilated into culture, should be regarded as potential evil spirits. However, every Nuaulu child is usually given a personal name at the time the umbilical cord is cut. This birth or 'cord cutting name', ***nanai mamrehi tipue*** (Florey and Bolton 1997: 34) then becomes the reference point for referring to its close kin.

Name-giving takes place at the moment when the umbilical cord is severed: that is the very point at which the child acquires a completely independent physical existence. Overall control of name-giving is in the hands of either the clan head (***ia onate ipan***) or war leader (***kapitane***). If a newborn child is patrilineally related through the ***numa kapitane***, then the ***ia onate*** performs the ritual and has overall responsibility. If the child is patrilineally related through the ***numa onate***, then the opposite is the case. In the case of girls it is often the wives (***ia pina onate***) of these individuals who are involved. Names themselves may come from these leaders, but commonly come from a father and a mother who must then inform those with ritual responsibility. Thus, the process by which names are given

reinforces clan and sacred house structure and identity. Particular names may be given for a variety of reasons, and although many of the same names occur in all Nuaulu clans, some do not, and it is usual to draw upon names from dead lineal descendants, in a way that accentuates continuity and lineality. In other words, names provide a link with events in patriline and clan history.

The only situation in which a Nuaulu child receives a name through the obligatory application of a rule, that is, in circumstances where a clan head or ***kapitane*** has no latitude in choice, are in certain cases of direct inheritance. Thus, if a father dies after the child of his eldest son is conceived, but before he is born, the child must be given his name, as was the case with Napuae Soumori (Figure 5.2). The same is the case if a man dies before a conceived eldest son of an eldest son is born. Thus, when Nauniku Peinisa died after his eldest son Sahunete had conceived his first son, the child was also named Nauniku. We can see an example of a related practice in Figure 5.2b, where the names Pinasapu and Lohosina are repeated for two of Napuae's daughters who take the names of his grandfather's sisters. Also, a child should receive the name of a dead elder sibling of the same sex immediately prior in birth order, especially where the elder sibling has died shortly after birth and certainly before the birth of the younger sibling, as was the case with Utane, the daughter of Paikone Sounaue-ainakahata (father) and Niniono Neipani-tomoien (mother), born in Rouhua in 1968. Something similar happens, where a person converts to Christianity or Islam. Those who had been newly converted in the 1970s were still giving traditional names to their offspring, and in particular firstborn children would receive a father or mother's traditional name before being baptized. Where there was a delay in baptism, such names were sometimes perpetuated as their use had become habitual. This was so for two of Semel (Waenisa) Neipani-nesinopu's children – Patona and Kupako – who I encountered in Rouhua in 1971. This practice appears to have changed among the larger group of Christians living in Rouhua during the 1980s and later in the new hamlets of Perusahaan and Rouhua Baru (Florey and Bolton 1997: 54–5).

These forms of name replication and generational alternation are more likely to apply to males than females, and then to heads of sacred houses than other descent lines, and in this line to pass between eldest siblings. In all cases they emphasize lineal continuity, which in turn reinforces the veneration of ancestors. But repeating the same names also makes it

hazardous when attempting to trace back long lineages. With the higher mortality and earlier deaths of previous generations, it is likely that names were repeated with greater frequency in the past. As individuals often receive several names, and sometimes revert to an earlier birth name during their childhood, this alternating of names may not always be directly visible. Thus, Mosone Soumori possesses the additional name Enso, which was also that of his paternal grandfather, but the name was rarely used while I was in the field.

Clan: SOUMORI

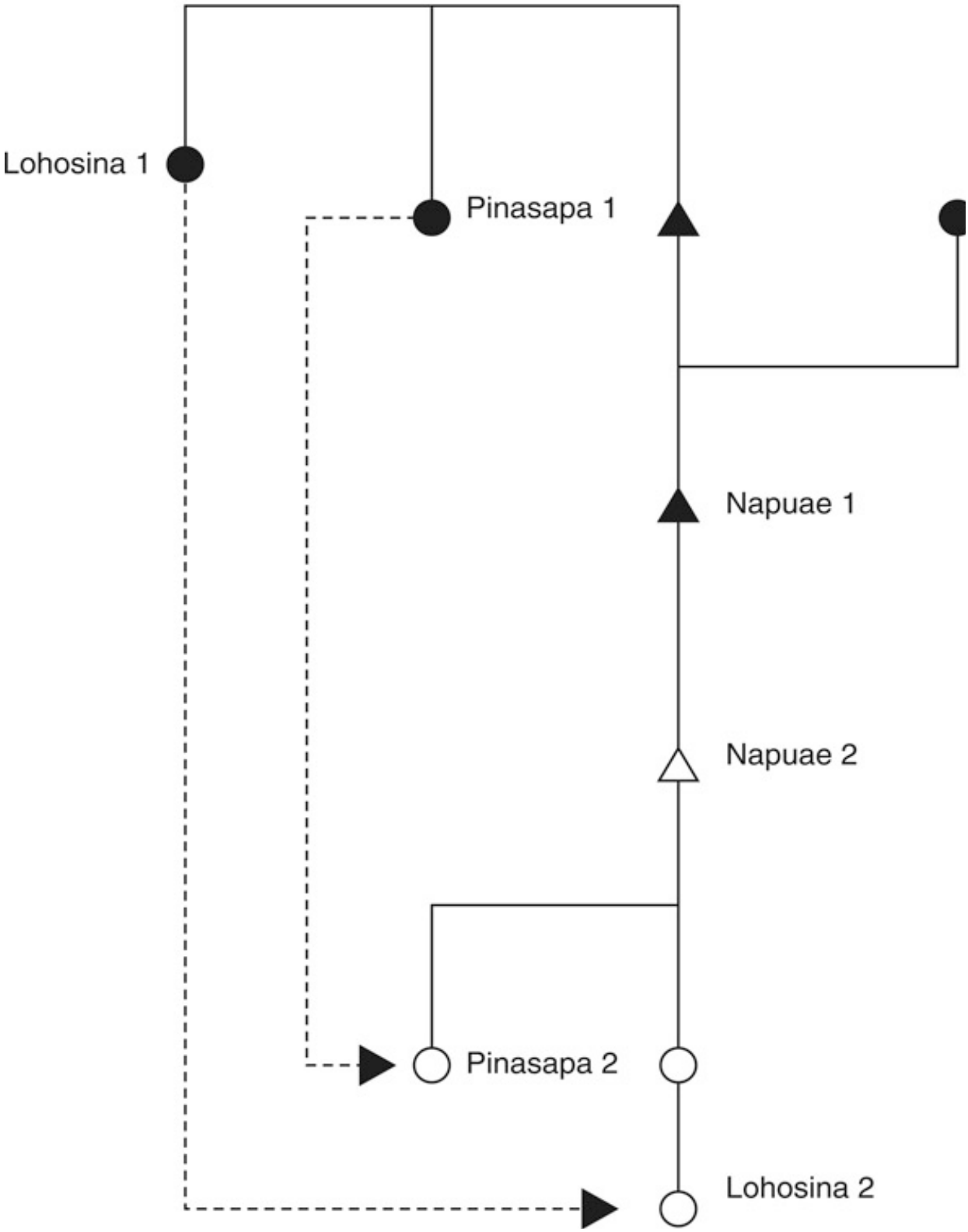


Figure 5.2 Examples of name repetition of dead kin, emphasizing continuity of descent: (a) immediate lineage of Napuae Soumori, who repeats the name of his father who died before he was born, and (b) repetition of the names Pinasapu and Lohosina for two of his daughters who take the names of Napuae's grandfather's sisters. Data: 1971.

Sometimes, name repetition is motivated by illness. For example, the mother of Sahune Matoke-pina's mother – Hahaso – died while he was quite young, following which he was severely ill with malaria. According to normal practice, to avert further illness, his father Surita gave him the new name of Natunesi (AM Latulesi), the name of his paternal grandfather, as it was thought the sickness was associated with the name Sahune. Natunesi was the main name by which I knew him during the 1970s. However, in later life he reverted to his birth name. New names may also be acquired from an ancestor following illness – sometimes described as ***saruana*** names. They may be sought by a medium from a named ancestor during a séance, and passed to the parents of the child concerned, usually by the partner of the medium. Often these are the name of the particular ancestral spirit consulted. ***Saruana*** names may also be the first name of a child if there is a difficult pregnancy or birth necessitating that parents consult an ancestor through a séance.

These and others like them are 'clan-continuity names'. As soon as the current bearer dies, another must adopt it: 'they are not allowed to be lost'. For example, the name Sante, given to the eldest son of the late Komisi, head of the Soumori clan in Rouhua, alludes to ***esaniki tinahane***, the act of attacking a person for their head, and is a name of prescribed inheritance within the clan. When one person dies, the clan is obliged to carry on the name by giving it to another, as a means of remembrance. Names are therefore regarded as a gift of the ancestors: they should not be lost or forgotten, and must be used 'till the end of the world'. The name is said to remind those living of the dead ancestors of the clan. The living bear the names of those that are dead – ***ohaha sio wasoni omataso nanao*** (Florey and Bolton 1997: 35).

While the same personal name can be found widely across different clans, there is a notion that there is a pool of names associated with each sacred house, names that perpetuate the memories of ancestral figures, or originate in the dreams of particular clan leaders. Moreover, a name of a living person must never be duplicated amongst living members of the same local clan. We can take as an extreme example of this the male name Sahune or Saune

(see earlier), a reference to standing astride a person who has been slain and decapitated during a head-taking raid. This is a particularly sacred name and I accumulated 11 instances in my incomplete census. While the name was never duplicated within the same local clan, I reported it from Matoke-hanaie (Aihisuru, and then Simalouw and Nuanea), Neipani-nahatue (Bunara), Soumori (Bunara), Huni (Bunara), Sopanani-putie (Bunara), Neipani-nesinopu (Hahualan) and Matoke-pina (Rouhua). Thus, it is found duplicated amongst living persons within the same clan (Neipani, Matoke), but not within the same sub-clan (say Matoke-hanaie or Matoke-pina).

Some names may be acquired through women from an affinal or maternal clan where marriage-wealth payments have been incomplete, and where a name has been transferred in this way it is no longer available to the clan that gifted it. As we shall see in Chapter 6, full marriage-wealth is seldom paid, which allows a wife-giving clan to partially offset the debt owed them by calling for food and labour when required, or as in this case requesting a name.

Once a personal name has been acquired, there are a number of formal restrictions on its use. A person must not mention their own name (and sometimes homonymous usages occurring in ordinary spoken language); nor must this name be used between husband and wife, between actual future spouses and those terminologically specified as preferential marriage partners (***nemakae***), between a mother's brother and sister's son, between a wife's brother and husband's sister, husband's brother and wife's sister (all ***sau monne***), and between a husband and his wife's mother. The latter is the most stringently enforced prohibition, and parties who ignore it are shamed and liable to a ritual fine payable in lengths of red cloth and plates. Those who are referred to as ***sau monne*** are in a relationship of extreme avoidance, and cannot eat from the same plate, joke, talk loudly or curse in each other's presence. They may talk to each other only at a safe distance, and then only softly. A husband and wife are not even supposed to hear the personal name of any affine spoken in their presence, or to mention a ***sau monne*** even when they have died. In such circumstances the use of developmental and relationship terms forestalls the breaking of ritually sanctioned prohibitions. Such practices have the effect of reducing individuality among affines and emphasizing instead an opposition between clan kinship and affinity, although such a logical abstraction does tend to conceal the exceedingly individualized character of certain affinal relations in particular circumstances.

Personal names, therefore, have value, and form part of the inherited tangible property of a clan, part of its ***monne*** and reside in sacred houses along with other physical valuables, such as plates and old barkcloth. Evidence for this is found in the practice alluded to previously, whereby the rights of using a girl's name can pass from one clan to another where marriage-wealth payments are incomplete, with the wife-taking clan forfeiting rights in that name thereafter. Because Nuaulu names have value, and originate in socially defined situations that link them to individual members of corporate clans and houses, their reconstitution as property is not unexpected. In this sense they resemble other forms of incorporeal property, such as myths, charms, medicines and related esoteric knowledge. Like such items, there are strong pressures to keep them in continuous circulation from one generation to the next. Their unbroken transmission links in time the creation of the universe and its destruction, simultaneously a condition for the existence of life and an obligation to the ancestors. Secondly, because a person cannot exist socially without a name, name-giving becomes part of the ritual means by which the social reproduction of individuals and (by extension) descent groups is controlled. This control is theoretically exercised by the heads of each clan sacred house, as mediators and gate-keepers between the living and the ancestors. In turn, it is materially reflected and reinforced by their practical control of key natal rituals.

If the process of name-giving serves in part to reproduce the existing pattern of social relations, then it is equally undeniable that particular names reinforce particular social relations. As there is no overlap between names for males and females, all personal names emphasize gender distinctions – with male names lexically unmarked and female names often marked by the prefix ***pina***. But over and above this, different names may stress directly contradictory sentiments and structural linkages: either alliance or descent, but predominantly descent.

Alliances between different clans are characteristically cemented through the exchange of property (Chapter 6), and this includes personal names. When a patriclan acquires a woman through marriage, it also acquires a right to add her personal name to the pool available to its un-born and un-named descendants. It also acquires access to other names of the bride's clan. In practice, affinal names are introduced permanently on the birth of children, although they may be acquired before this following an illness. Given that there are relatively few inter-marrying clans, it might be expected that this

would soon lead to a large overlap in names, and given a structural expectation of long-term symmetrical exchange, it might be expected that over time there would be a tendency for pairs of clans to register a convergence in the composition of their name pools. But not only does this ideal not correspond to the historical reality of inter-clan linkages (Chapter 7), the right of access to names is neither immediate nor automatic. Depending on the form of marriage contracted, the rituals conducted and the marriage-wealth paid, the extent and character of mutual access to different forms of property varies. It may help if I provide a specific example of this.

The ***makahane sihuru*** ceremony of the clan Soumori follows sometime after marriage and is conditional on the payment of marriage-wealth. Although the constituent parts of the ceremony may alter, be held separately or recombined in a different form, in the most summary of terms it commonly has a threefold structure. Firstly, there are payments by wife-takers to wife-givers signifying separation of a woman from one clan and her incorporation into another. These payments may or may not include the marriage-wealth payment itself. In a ceremony at which I was present in 1970 the payment involved 2000 Indonesian rupiah (then the equivalent of two British pounds), two porcelain plates, two bracelets and a red male head cloth (***karanunu***). The detailed symbolism of these objects is unimportant here, except to mention that the ***karanunu***, regarded as being invested with ancestral Soumori spirits, is rubbed over the body of the bride to indicate her total incorporation. Secondly, there are changes signifying the ritual subjugation of the woman to the ancestors of the wife-taking clan. This consists primarily of the presentation of a conical hat (***nasa***) made from pandanus leaves, significant on the grounds that adult Soumori women are prohibited from going outside the house without a head covering. Secondarily, this aspect of the ceremony may involve payment by the bride of fines for having already infringed certain Soumori totemic restrictions. The third part of the ceremony signifies the privileged access gained by wife-takers to the property of the wife-givers. The payments already mentioned release the name of the woman to become the property of the wife-taking clan. This aspect of the ceremony is also reflected in the fact that it is the bride’s clan which provides the food and which is afterwards consumed in celebration. The frequency of the transfer of names between clans forecloses the possibility of any consistent patterning.

By contrast to a lateral transfer of names between clans, which emphasizes alliance, the inheritance and repetition in the patrilineal line

stresses continuity and identity through descent. Such practices are among many whose effect is to stabilize the relationship of past to present. Naming does so by ensuring that the living are none other than the namesakes of those ancestral spirits and immediate jural superiors who are invoked by mortals and who direct and affect their lives. Names recall the reputation of an ancestor and are a means of remembrance. They remind the living not only of specific named ancestors (and therefore serve as a technique of memorialism), but are links with a more general past. They represent accumulated cultural capital acquired and utilized by a collectivity of clan ancestors, and thereby signify their omnipresence.

For the greater part, Nuaulu personal names are therefore those of patriclan ancestors, or at least they are by now regarded as such. Some names are more sacred than others (***nanai monne***), such as those showing clear totemic affiliations (e.g. Patona [reticulate python: Soumori] and Tenne [a kind of bamboo: Neipani-tomoien], and there is an inducement to retain such names. As soon as the current bearer dies another must be found. Sixty-one of a total of 285 names applied to different individuals in Rouhua in 1971 were acquired through direct inheritance. In patrilineal descent groups it is necessarily the personal names of males that are crucial in establishing genealogical charters and chronicles of clan-ship (see e.g. Figure 3.1). In a society where non-infant death still occurs early and three-generation families are not always found, direct inheritance of names leads to an alternation of generations in the use of names. As the mortality rate has declined through the cessation of raiding and head-taking, and as modern health care has become available, so the average age of adult death has risen. This increases the probability of effective material reproduction of descent groups, but (paradoxically) reduces the degree of social continuity enshrined in the obligatory repetition of personal names.

There is nothing novel in suggesting that personal naming is the one sure way of indicating the culturally constructed unique in the biological world (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 168, 192). Nuaulu personal names inevitably determine a self, and may also convey more specific biographical information, particularly about the circumstances of birth. The uniqueness is socially maximized in that a name cannot be used twice for living members of a single local named clan. It is sustained through an understanding that living clan members sharing the same name could hardly be separable persons and finds its apotheosis and psychological salience in those instances when entirely new names are created. But most names in circulation have been

used at least once, that is they are inherited rather than invented. Thus, the circumstances that give rise to new names, and which, additionally, negate the value attached to well-established ones must, therefore, be particularly special. Nuaulu personal names are, therefore, simultaneously classifiers and individualizers (Goodenough 1965): the individualizing tendency operating primarily (though not exclusively) through the acquisition of intrinsic meaning associated with the circumstances of birth, while their classificatory role is most apparent in the extrinsic connections they make to the names they share with other clan members and genealogically and affinally related others.

Teknonymy

Teknonymy is well reported for those parts of island southeast Asia with cognatic relationship terminologies. Where terminologies are extensively bilaterally asymmetric and descent groups unilineal, they are less well documented (but see Jensen 1948: 130 for the Wemale of west Seram). Although teknonymy might seem functionally more consistent with ego-oriented kinship relations and generational terminology rather than with ancestor-oriented relations and lineal-alliance terminologies, where it masks the identities of specific ancestors (Hagen 2006: 71), Nuaulu teknonymous practice is central to their referential system and forms of address, reinforced by strong and complex taboos on the direct use of personal names in many contexts.

With the birth of the first child of whatever sex teknonyms are adopted (a father being referred to by the form PERSONAL NAME + ***amai***, and a mother being referred to by the form PERSONAL NAME + ***inai***). Thus, in 1970 Numapena Sounaue ainakahata was referred to as Asasareheni ***amai*** and his wife Hunahonue Neipanitomoien as Asasaraheni ***inai***. When the eldest child marries, they are referred to by the ***msaha/pina*** form that we encountered earlier in this chapter, and the teknonym switches to the next eldest child. Thus, on the birth of their first child Komisi Soumori and his wife Patima Sounaue-ainakahata were Mosone ***amai*** and Mosone ***inai***, respectively. By 1970, following Mosone's marriage, they had become Sant(e) ***amai*** and Sant(e) ***inai***, respectively, adopting the name of their

second eldest (male) child. If an eldest child dies unmarried, the teknonym also switches to the next eldest. When all children have been gone through in this way and all are married, the teknonym changes to the eldest child of the eldest child. Thus, on the birth of the first grandchild, the teknonym switches to use of the suffix ***momoi*** preceded by the name of the child. Thus, when Mosone had a daughter by his second wife called Kupako, his father Komisi became Kupako ***momoi*** (sometimes adding ***onate***) and his wife Kupako ***momoi pina onate***. Theoretically, this same pattern applies to all successive generations, although it is seldom used beyond the third.

Teknonyms are not used for fostered children or stepchildren from a previous marriage, for whom the living genetic parent is the only individual who can take a child's name. However, the use of the eldest child irrespective of sex might be thought to be strange, as in a strictly patrilineal society we would expect the names of sons and particularly eldest sons to be salient.

The use of teknonyms and other indirect modes of address applies strictly to close kin and within the household, but people commonly refer to other children's parents and grandparents in this way and to people to which they are clearly unrelated. Different modes of reference and address are used for the same person in different types of relationship. Thus, for some people the chiefly title ***ia onate ankarua*** is used for Komisi (in particular circumstances and by particular people) and at other times Sante ***amai***. If all children are married but there are no off-spring, Komisi takes the name ***amako onate aia***. On the death of Komisi he was referred to as ***momoko onate*** or ***upuku onate***, and his wife as ***momoko pina onate***. Personal names tend only to be used when outsiders are present, which in the Nuaulu context, living closely as they do with speakers of other languages and practitioners of other religions, is quite frequently.

Teknonyms are usually used as reference terms and not as forms of address, for persons where a kin term would be inappropriate (usually outside the clan), although there are no direct taboos on ordinary personal names being used, except in special relationships and circumstances, as between mother's brother and sister's son, or with a future husband or wife. There are several categories of affine who may not address or refer to each other by personal names. This is certainly true of husband and wife, where it appears to have sexual connotations, and the prohibition may thus be extended to other categories of affine. The taboo, therefore, differentiates between affines and consanguines, in the same way, for example, as the use

of prefixes ***pina-*** and ***msaha-*** for newly married childless couples. The most stringent prohibition is between a man and his mother-in-law, and should the son-in-law break it he must pay a fine of red cloth and plates, because 'he has been made to feel ashamed'. A man must not even hear an in-law's name spoken in his presence. In such circumstances the use of teknonyms or other terms forestalls the danger of breaking affinal taboos. Teknonyms – as Benjamin (1968) and Strathern (1970) have pointed out – neutralize the contrast between consanguinity and affinity by converting all relationships into the former. Teknonyms announce that a child is an important link between affines, and brothers-in-law can address each other teknonymously, thereby stressing the fact that they are fathers of children who are consanguinally related to them.

Parents and children

At the core of all terminologies applied to genealogical relationships are three non-reciprocal terms. In the Nuaulu case the first two are: ***ama***, the biological father but also the person who marries a widowed mother, and ***ina***, the biological mother but also the person that marries a widowed father. ***Ama*** is also sometimes used for clan leader and head of a sacred house, and ***ina*** for his wife, who holds a structurally complementary position for many ritual purposes. The inflections of these terms are ***amako*** for 'my father', and ***amai*** for 'his father' (that is anybody else's father). This rule applies to other terms, e.g. ***ina*** > ***inako*** > ***ina i***, ***kaka*** > ***kakako*** > ***kakai***, and so on. Thirdly, there is ***ana*** or ***anai*** used for own children but also for offspring of certain cousins.

Ana hanaie (child-male) and ***ana pina*** (child-female) are more common than ***ana*** alone, and the terms ***ana mononte*** and ***ana muie*** are also used to describe elder and younger children, respectively. ***Sio ikina*** ('the small ones') as opposed to ***sio onata*** ('the big ones', a term generally used for ancestors) is often used to refer collectively to immediate genetic children, as in the following: ***pinau mononte*** (eD), ***sio ikina pinau muie*** (yD), **sio *ikina hanaia mononte*** (eS) and ***sio ikina hanaia muie*** (yS). The contrast between ***sio ikina*** and ***sio onate*** (in the sense of dead lineal ancestral spirits) serves to emphasize symmetry between those that represent the past of a clan

or patriline and those who will continue it. In this respect, it is also useful to consider the usage in relation to reciprocal generational terms treated in the following section. Children always address their parents by a kin term, but parents address their children by personal names.

Reciprocal generational terms

The changes the body goes through as it matures provide a convenient set of stages for thinking about the passing of time, while the 'life-cycle' is a core framework for experiencing and referencing the passing of time in all cultural populations. However, because growing up is mostly a continuous process, more-or-less arbitrary divisions have to be constructed to divide it into meaningful units, and these are essentially social. Assemblages of overlapping life-cycles become generations, and although the notion of a 'generation' is founded on a genealogical model, its definition in particular places depends much on local patterns of social interaction and organization. The number of generations labeled often reflects the importance attached to group lineality. In the Nuaulu case, in addition to ascendant level 1 (***ama, ina***) and descendant level 1 (***ana***), four terms are applied reciprocally to eight generation levels (Table 5.1, rows 4–7). The term ***momo*** to FF, MM, MF, FM; and SS, DD, DS, SD), the term ***upu*** (to FFF, FMF, FMM, FMF, MMM, MFF, MFM, MMF; and SSS, SSD, SDD, SDS, DDD, DSS, DSD, DDS), ***nusi*** (FFFF, MMMM…; SSSS, DDDD …) and ***toa*** (FFFFF, MMMMM…; SSSSS, DDDDD …).

We have already noted that the term ***momo*** for genealogical grandparent and grandchild is often used teknonymously, especially within the immediate family. ***Momo*** (and its inflections ***momoi*** and ***momoko***) are heard frequently as a reciprocal term of address and reference, but are also heard – for example – being sometimes used for MZDD, MZDS, MZSS and MZSD. More ascendant (and conversely) descendant generational terms are used much less. ***Upu*** is heard frequently when addressing ancestral spirits, where it is used in the sense of the honorific 'Lord' – as in ***upuku Anahatana tuamanae mai*** ('Lord [great-grandfather] Anahatana of this earth'), but terms for more remote generations are only important when discussing arcane matters of genealogy and history. However, the fact that distinct

generation terms are found, and are reciprocal, says something about the importance of lineality and genealogy in Nuaulu social organization. Although uninominal generational terms are those most widely heard spoken, grandchildren may be distinguished from grandparents by using the terms ***momo ikine*** and ***momo onate***, respectively, the same qualifiers being theoretically possible for other generational terms. Similarly ***momo*** relationships traced through the female line (e.g. MM) will sometimes be referred to as ***momo binatui***.

Lateral terms within and between patrilineal clans

In looking at terms used to describe lateral relationships within the same generation, we need to distinguish those used for ego's own clan (siblings and parallel cousins), and those used for ego's mother's clan (cross-cousins). In some instances, the clan of a mother may coincide with that of a wife or husband, and we might expect this to be reflected in the terminology.

There are three terms used for siblings, which also apply to parallel cousins, that is, cousins within ego's clan. Ego's sibling of the opposite sex is ***hota*** regardless of relative age. An older sibling of the same sex is ***kaka*** and a younger sibling of the same sex is ***wani***. The terms for a sibling of the opposite sex are reciprocal while those for a sibling of the same sex are not. The relative age of the same sex parallel cousin is determined by the relative age of their parents, for example where ego's cousin is older than a parent ego would call them ***wani*** 'younger same sex sibling'. As with other terms, the addition of ***muie*** or ***mononte*** to ***wani***, ***hota*** or ***kaka*** (e.g. ***wani muie***, ***hota mononte***) indicates younger or older, respectively, while ***hanaie*** and ***pina*** indicate gender differences (e.g. ***kaka hanaie***). The terms ***wanim panui*** and ***wanim hotam*** are used collectively for brothers and sisters respectively. Genealogical brothers and sisters (***kaka susu, hota susu***) are distinguished from clan brothers and sisters (***wea hotau*** [pl.] – 'all females of the clan', ***wea kakau*** [pl.], ***kakako*** [s.], ***hotako*** [s.] – 'all men of the clan', ***we ukakau pinau*** [pl.], ***kakako pina*** [s.] – 'all wives of men of the clan'.

Turning to those terms used for lateral genealogical positions traced through a mother, a cross-cousin of the same sex as ego is called ***makae*** and a cross-cousin of the opposite sex is referred to as ***hota makakae***, the terms

makakae, makae, ne makae [***ne-*** = the third person possessive] being used reciprocally to refer to persons in the FZS-MBS relationship (for males) and the FZD-MBD relationship for females (Figure 5.3). ***Makae*** (which also means 'strong'), is a complex and structurally crucial term, the use of which intersects a diagonal relationship in clan and affinal relationships. The terminology seems to imply that it is a FZS who should marry the Z of the MBS, and vice versa. This relationship is explored further in Chapter 6.

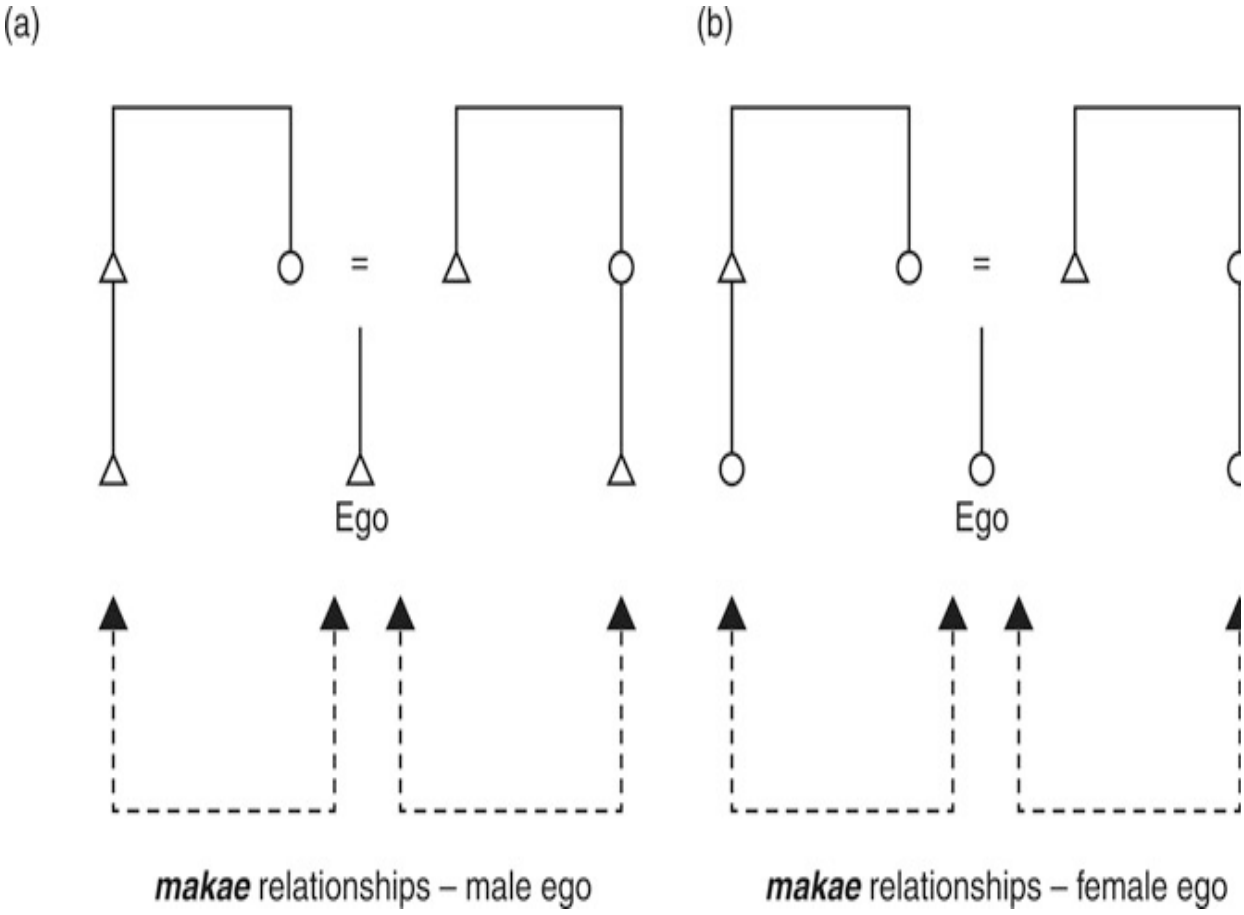


Figure 5.3 The ***makae*** relationship: (a) male ego, and (b) female ego.

Lateral terms for relationships between adjacent generations

The term ***ete*** is a reciprocal term that marks the MB-ZS relationship (MeB, MyB, ZeS, ZyS, ZD), and is a structurally pivotal element in understanding

Nuaulu kinship dynamics, connecting as it does males in both a mother's clan and the clan of a sister's husband. Tellingly, ***ete*** is also used for HZS, HZD and WMB, which as we shall see is consistent with an expectation of cross-cousin marriage. As in other instances, the qualifiers ***muie*** and ***mononte*** are used to indicate younger and older (e.g. ***ete muie***). Those who are structurally senior in an ***ete*** relationship must be treated with respect.

The reciprocal term ***oa*** is indicated for MeZ (***oa pina onate***), FeB (***oa onate***), FeZ (***oa pina onate***), and also for a spouse of any of these relatives, for a female ego's younger sibling's children, and for parents' younger sibling's grandchildren and a man's brother's children (BS = ***oa hanaia***, BD = ***oa pina***) and his parents younger sibling's son's children. By contrast, the term ***uka*** is used for a FyZ, MyZ and FyBW, while the FyB and spouse of ***uka*** are called ***mema***, or sometimes ***mema kaka muie***. These terms are not reciprocal. ***Mema*** calls those who call them ***mema*** by the term ***ana***, the term used for ego's own children.

We hehu **ka**, combining the first person possessive ('my') and the person classifier ***hehu***, is often used in preference to ***anaku***, for example ***we hehu ka hanaia*** for eBS and ***we hehu ka pi(n)iau*** for eBD. A man will call his MBDD, MBSS, MBSD and MBDS ***we hehu ka***, but a woman will call her FBDS ***we manaruoai*** and her FBSD ***we msahane***. ***We hehu ka*** may also refer to all persons in a single household (head of household speaking), while ***we amomo*** would become all those in a household in the ***momo*** relationship.

Affinal terms

If affinity is to be understood as relations established through marriage, then we must begin with the two generic categories of ***tanaite*** (wife-takers, the clan of the husband) and ***hanahanai*** (wife-givers, the clan of the wife. Sometimes these clans are the same for the parental generation as for ego's generation, namely where there has been a repeat marriage into the same clan, while on occasion, ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai*** clans may reverse in alternate generations. Moreover, the terms ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai*** are also used in a more generic – cosmological – way to refer to ideal structural wife-taking and wife-giving clans, as might be consistent with certain ritual

practices. We will return to possible problems created when the different senses of these terms do not align in Chapter 7, but in the meantime we should note that, more specifically, the term ***(m)saha*** is used reciprocally to refer to a spouse, though ***ia pina*** may be used for a husband. Another person's wife, or wives in general are termed ***sahai.*** A wife's brother is addressed using the prefix ***sa*** or ***msaha***, and a wife's sister using the prefix ***pina***. Therefore, Mosone Soumori is called ***(m)sa(ha)*** - Sounaue by his wife's kin, and his wife is called ***pina*** - Soumori by Mosone's kin, until teknonyms become possible.

A man refers to his father and mother in-law, respectively, as ***ama*** and ***ina hanahanai,*** usually shortened to ***ama*** and ***ina*** unless the context makes it necessary to specify further. The same is true of ***ama*** and ***ina tanaite***, used by a woman to refer to her father and mother in-law. The term for daughter-in-law is ***mananue*** or ***pina msahane***, while son in-law is ***msahane*** (***manim sahane***) or ***ia msahane***. ***Mananue*** is also used for a FBSD when a woman is speaking, as both a FBSD and FFBD are women who when married are of another clan.

Some terms, mainly used for consanguines, may be appropriate for certain affines, for example the lateral term ***oa***, considered previously, is also used for WyBD, FyBS, WZS, WZD and WyBS; ***mema*** is used for FyZH and MyZH. ***K aka*** is used for HeB and MeB (specifically ***kaka hanaie***), WeZ and eBW (specifically ***kaka pina***); and ***wani pina*** for BW and WyZ (with whom a man has a joking relationship), and ***wani hanaie*** for HyB. Basically, if a spouse refers to his or her siblings as ***kaka***, ***wani*** or ***makae,*** ego will do so as well.

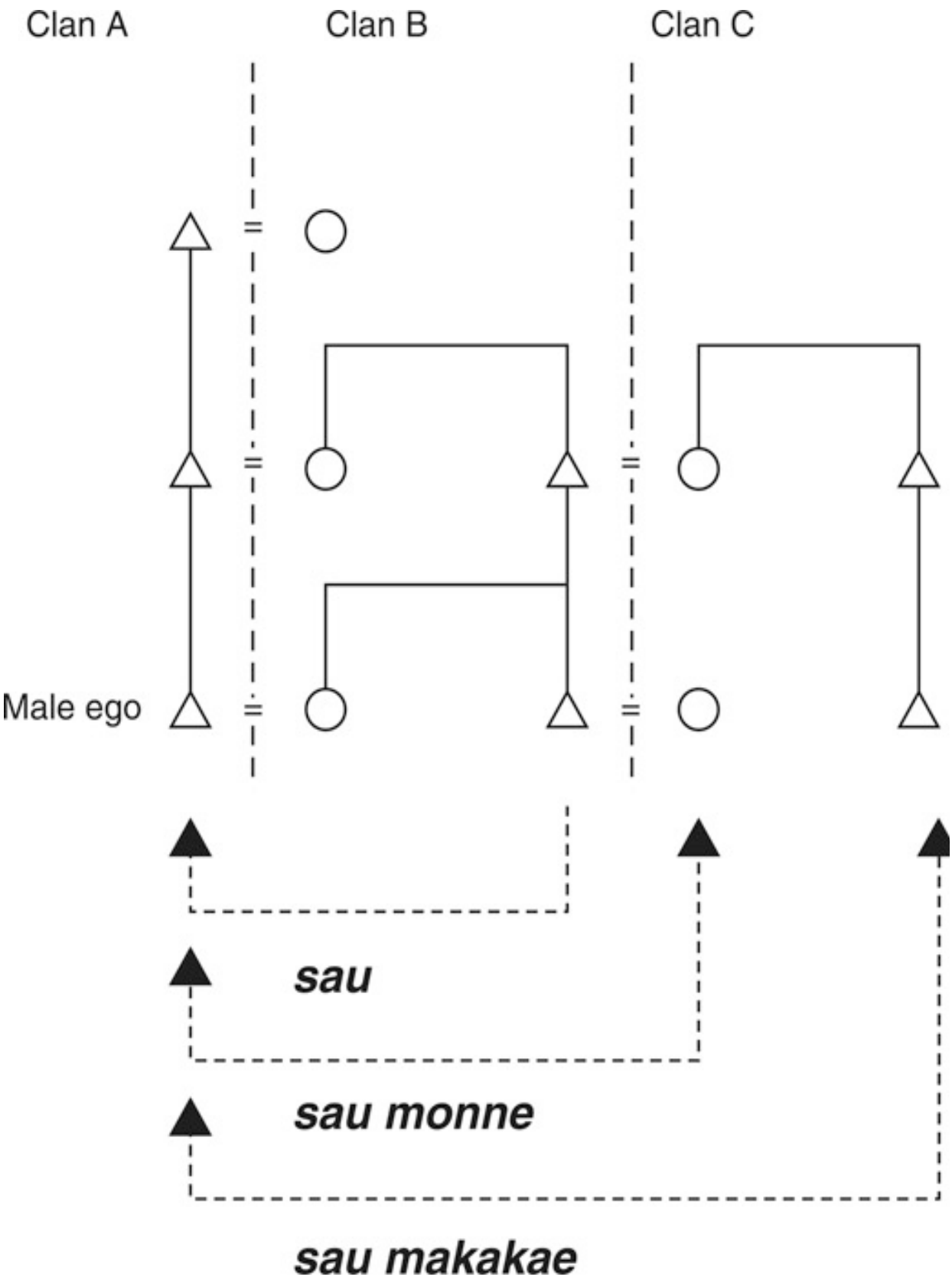


Figure 5.4 The ***sau*** relationships for a male ego.

Ego's spouse's opposite sex sibling is referred to by ego as ***sau*** while ego's spouse's opposite sex cross-cousin is referred to by ego as ***sau makakae*** (Figure 5.4). The MB-ZS relationship is also referred to as ***sau***, but when the term ***sau*** is used for either husband or wife it is regarded as being impolite, and a person should properly address a spouse using the appropriate term for those outside the clan. Men in the ***sau*** relationship frequently work together, and female ***sau*** assist each other in labour and breastfeeding their children. However, the spouse of ego's spouse's opposite sex sibling is called ***sau monne***, and as we have noted under the discussion of personal name use, a strong avoidance relationship exists between the two. The ***sau monne*** relationship applies not only to ego's WBW, but to other spouses of the same generation that his wife calls ***hota***. Chapter 8 explores a detailed account of an alleged ***sau monne*** violation.

The pragmatics of using names and relationship terms

So far in Chapter 5 I have concentrated on a descriptive account of terms frequently used to describe social relationships within an extended kinship context, with examples of how they are used in particular situations. It has been difficult to do this without also indicating some exceptions and constraints on following the basic 'rules', but now it is necessary to develop the pragmatics of actual terminology use a bit more. As Hicks (1986: 168) has noted on the use of kinship terms more generally, changes in the status of a relative, the process of growing up, shifts in residence and so on, may well influence the use of lineal, collateral and affinal terms. Amongst Nuaulu, the use of kinship terms is extended to the whole clan. Terms can also be conjoined, as in ***nusi-toa***, which refers to all most distant ancestors within a clan, or ***kaka-wani***, which refers to 'us Nuaulu' as opposed to outsiders. To these we might add adoptive relationships. Other terms are not mutually exclusive. Thus, the structurally diagnostic affinal term ***sau monne*** is a kind of ***sau*** term and the two terms may both be used to refer to WB. People vary in the way they use terms and are not always consistent, with some ideolectal variation. As I have amalgamated terms collected by Bolton

and Tongli, this may also have created apparent anomalies, due to local and idiosyncratic uses.

Kinship terms are most frequently heard referring to a particular relationship to ego as ***amako, inako, anaku*** … 'my father', 'my mother', 'my child', and so on – in other words as terms of personal reference. In the lists and figures in this chapter I have generally provided terms with no possessive suffix, i.e. as ***ama***, ***ina*** and so on. This is the form terms take when addressing individuals. If there are several persons to be designated in a single term category, they are numbered according to age: ***etem sia osa, sia tua***, ***tonu*** (MB 1, MB 2, MB 3) and so on [Bolton 1999b: 7]. If a kinship relationship is not traceable, the appropriate generation term is used. Thus, Mosone Soumori is called ***kaka*** (older sibling) by other clan members (say his FFeBSeS, Retaone), even though he is younger, as Mosone has inherited the status of clan chief (***ia onate*** – 'he the elder'). A similar rule applies where a younger female relative is wife of the clan chief (***ia pina onate*** – 'she the elder'). Moreover, while the basic (radical) genealogical terms used by Nuaulu are set out in Table 5.1, it is already clear that in various situations these terms can be qualified. In other words, uni- or mono-nomials can become binomials or polynomials, using ***mononte***/***muie*** (older/younger), ***hanaia***/***pina*** (male/female), ***onate/ikina*** (older/younger, in cross-generational relationships) and ***panui/hotam*** (male/female – when referring to siblings generically). This allows much more specificity in identifying relationships.

Thus, many terms are used both in a strict genealogical sense, which it is conventional to regard as semantically primary, while the same terms alone or in more complex lexical constructions cover expanded, 'secondary' and 'metaphorical' uses. But in many cases judging what is primary and secondary, literal and metaphorical is a contested matter. In some accounts of kinship terminology these more complex lexical constructions are conflated with basic kinship terms, such that 'relationship terminology' has often proved a better way of describing these words than 'kinship terminology' (Barnard 1996: 602). Such plasticity can lead to terms, equations and distinctions we might otherwise regard as prescriptive being in 'flat contradiction' to this characterization. Some 'equations' can seem spurious. Thus, when the position MB and WF coincide for a male ego (***ete*** and ***ama hanahanai*** in Nuaulu[1]), this does not mean that a wife's father is necessarily referred to as ***ete***, only that in this instance the two genealogical

roles coincide. The kind of inferential transitive syllogistic logic that works in scientific taxonomy does not necessarily always apply when understanding folk-sociological terms and categories. Thus, Nuaulu sometimes say that ***wekae*** is a kind of ***nakatua*** (cockatoo) or that it is a ***manua*** (bird), but we cannot infer from this the hierarchic three-tier taxonomy – ***wekae*** > ***nakatua*** > ***manua*** – since to say that ***wekae*** is a 'kind of' ***nakatua*** generally only means that it is 'similar to' (Ellen 1993: 88). However, there are occasions when the coincidence of genealogical positions following from different ways of tracing relationships with a single individual do matter and can have calamitous consequences, as with the use of the term ***sau monne***, implying incest (see Chapter 8).

One of the main constraints in using personal names and relationship terms are explicit prohibitions placed on them in particular circumstances and the respect behaviours that severely curtail the occasions when these can be employed. It is considered disrespectful to say the name of any married person, and instead a person must adhere to the ***msaha/pina*** convention. It is especially disrespectful to utter the name of a sacred house guardian. And then there are the ***sau monne*** prohibitions that have already been described. Here, however, there are exceptions and a certain flexibility in practice. For example, in the case of ***sau monne*** through a sister's daughter and mother's brother relationship, while name avoidance still applies, other restrictions do not. Workarounds also consist of a large number of replacement terms that people invent to avoid using homonyms of personal names (Florey and Bolton 1997: 46), while ***sau monne*** who cannot use names acquired following illness often revert to birth names, even though other people do not use them, and this can be confusing to strangers.

On certain occasions a relationship term is used in preference to a personal name. In addressing a relative a person will normally use the relationship term; in referring to them in conversation with non-members of their clan, or in the company of such, they will usually use the teknonym or the personal name. The relationship term may also be used on formal and quasi-formal occasions: for example to induce the person to grant a favour or fulfil an obligation. It is quite common for children to call their relatives by the relationship term, while they themselves are addressed by name. The terms of the relationship are not just speech forms but stand for real social relationships.

Thus, patterns of actual use indicate that what appear as functional contradictions in fact permit subtle changes in terminology appropriate to

specific social situations (cf. Tyler 1969). All relationship terms can be used referentially, as in such statements as ‘x is my ***eteku***’ or ‘y is the ***hotaku*** of x’. When it is necessary to identify a person, rather than establish a relationship, kinship terms are not generally used. Only a few Nuaulu vocative terms for persons in kinship positions differ from terms of reference, and then only slightly. This shift involves a phonological contraction, concordant with the expression of intimacy (e.g. ***eteku*** > ***ete***). However, the range of kinship terms regularly used as modes of address is restricted (***ama***, ***ina***, ***ete*** and ***momo***). As in Geertz’s Bali (1975: 368), the vocative form does not exist for genealogically junior relatives. Terms for developmental phases are entirely identical in both referential and vocative forms. Indeed, developmental terms appear to be used as terms of address in preference to relationship terms in everyday domestic interactions. Teknonyms are generally used vocatively among close consanquines, but then never by children for parents, their lineal superiors or with respect to adopted parents. Brothers-in-law may address each other teknonymously, and thereby stress the consanguineous link established through their children. Children always address parents by a kin term, but parents address their children by a personal name. Outside the circle of close consanguines, teknonyms are used only for reference, and for persons for whom kin terms would be inappropriate, usually those outside the clan. Sometimes, personal names are used to refer to others within a village, moreso nowadays than when I first set foot in a Nuaulu village.

Finally, we need to add something about terms used to refer to fostered, adoptive and step-kin following remarriage, since this may clarify the significance of perceived biological relatedness in relation to the idiom of kinship. If one parent has died or divorced but the other has remarried, the new parent is referred to as follows: female (father’s wife) as ***uka***, and male (mother’s husband) as ***mema***. Females use the same kin terms as males. However, where a man and a woman have remarried, children from the previous relationship who are still dependent may also call or refer to their stepfather or stepmother using the term ***apiara***, and vice versa. The synonym ***pakanana*** is also possible in relation to people, but may also be used for objects or land. The reciprocal term ***apiara*** is additionally used for children brought into a marriage that are fostered or adopted without there being an existing paternal relationship. Thus, the relational term used by Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata and Napuae Soumori, whose mother Alewa remarried Hatarai after the death of Napuae’s father, is ***apiara*** (see Chapter 4, case

4.2). The term ***apiara*** is a likely introduction from Ambonese Malay *piara*, replacing the more infrequently used ***pakanana. Momo*** is also used as a reciprocal term between adoptive grandparents and children.

Kinship, classification and language history

Any one Nuaulu can be terminologically located in social space using six pronouns, between 19 and upwards of 37 relationship terms (the upper figure taking into account all recorded combinations and variations), at least nine developmental terms and one or more personal name. Of the first three types of ascription, it is the relationship and developmental terms that might be expected to most directly mirror social organization. Pronouns are too generalized.

Because relationship terms stand midway between abstract pronouns and more individualized developmental terms, they may have the effect – contradictorily – of both personalizing and depersonalizing, depending on the way that they are used. This functional tension is found in all relationship terminologies. The element of depersonalization, following Geertz (1975: 389–90), lies in the way they may be used indiscriminately to include mortals, immortals, ancestors, predecessors, successors and consiates as ‘stereotyped contemporaries’. In the Nuaulu case this is demonstrated most clearly in a two-generation reciprocity in which each generation above the parental is terminologically and symbolically equated with the reciprocal (grandparent with grandchild, great-grandparent with great-grandchild, and so on). Simultaneously, the same and other equivalences and distinctions (gender, relative age, siblinghood and affinity) provide a fine calculus of mutual identities that locates individuals in an otherwise complex genealogical web.

Contradictions arise also from the dual use of terms to stress both lineality and alliance. In developmental terminology the ***msaha/pina*** form emphasizes alliance and lateral exchange between affines. Teknonymy is more problematic. Teknonyms clearly stress reproductive continuity, lineality and descent (Geertz 1975: 378; see also Geertz and Geertz 1964), by using only the names of the first-born and by defining individuals in terms of their offspring. On the other hand, by identifying a relationship

between husband and wife via a child, a connection of affinity is transformed into one of consanguinity (Geertz 1975: 376; Benjamin 1968: 126–7; Strathern 1970: 77). The possibility of using the ***momo*** form for any relationship of direct descent spanning three generations completely neutralizes the affinity and gender distinctions on which it is based. Personal names and teknonyms differ from the other Nuaulu ascriptive terms discussed in that they have a value which is not simply a matter of relative status, but which derives from specific genealogical histories. The same kinds of functional tension and contradiction, as we have seen, are mirrored at the level of personal names.

Conceptualization of genealogical space also influences the representation of time. The naming of a parent with reference to a child, or a grandparent with reference to a grandchild in effect creates a ‘motionless present’, and is a process of social de-personalization and ‘de-temporalization’, or what Lévi-Strauss might describe (speaking of myth) as a ‘machine for the suppression of time’ (Ellen 2016). However, none of this means that Nuaulu are incapable of thinking of time in other ways.

The way in which use of relationship terms connects with actual behaviour is not mechanistic, but words do reflect usage and provide a model or framework for behaviour: they are therefore moral guides and practical prompts as to how to behave in certain circumstances, as reminders of what expectations are. The data presented in this chapter has shown first of all how all terms for relationships need to be looked at as part of a single system, because they overlap and inform each other: pronouns, personal names, developmental terms and genealogical terms together.

More specifically, certain patterns of use, equations and distinctions reflect the significance of lineality (e.g. F = FB, FZ =|= MZ), the differences between the natal clan and other clans with which relations are established, the role of generations and therefore the measurement of social time. Parallel cousins are viewed as a kind of sibling. Terms in the first ascending generation are bifurcate and collateral, adjusted by sex and relative age, and for ego’s generation. This is less important for the first descending generation. Over two generations distant from ego, neither sex nor relative age has a determining factor. All clan members are referred to using kinship terms even where exact genealogical relationship is unknown.

But also central to this analysis, Nuaulu terminology seems to indicate an expectation of repeat marriage between cross-cousins. The key equations consistent with the symmetric and ‘prescriptive’ character of the terminology

are critically MBS = FZS, MBD = FZD, BW = WZ and WB = ZH, though also note, for example, that WMBS = H and HFZD = W (***sau monne***). In practice there are relatively few marriages that are technically ‘bilateral’ where these equations might apply genealogically, and most cross-cousin marriages at the present time (and they are increasing) are simply repeat marriages into the clan of a mother, that is classifica-tory matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. This would, however, be insufficient evidence to support a claim for evolution from a prototypical two-section terminology with generalized exchange to an asymmetric matrilateral alliance terminology accompanied by generalized exchange. Rather, any compliant equations might better be seen as the result of a frequency of coincidence between the roles following inevitable marriage into the same clan due to demographic limitations on possibilities. After all, terminologies evolved in groups with small populations where there was a strong likelihood of marrying a cousin, and present-day Nuaulu population levels and the marriage patterns they can sustain must be treated as historically atypical. However, relationship terms that seem to suggest particular forms of cousin marriage on the basis of a pattern of abstract semantic equations and distinctions, have probably evolved pragmatically as a way of responding to a particular demographic situation of marriage possibilities. They do not begin as ‘rules’, even if we might imagine circumstances in which they become so.

The idea that the disjunction between the inferences we draw from patterns of words used and actual kinship practices reflects something about past usage is a familiar and old mode of argument in anthropology, and its validity all depends on whether the terms used in the present were actually used in the past. As it happens, most Nuaulu kin terms reconstructed for Proto-malayo-polynesian have been retained (F. Plessis 1998, personal communication): ***hota*** (‘cross sibling’ probably from PMP. *betaw ‘Z (m.s.)), ***ama*** (‘father’ from PMP. *(t)-ama ‘same’), ***ina*** (‘mother’ from PMP. *(t)-ina ‘same’), ***upu*** (‘PP/CC’ from PMP. *(t)-V(m) pu ‘same’, where V stands for an undetermined vowel), ***ana*** (‘child’ from PMP. *anak ‘same’) ***kaka*** (‘e//Sib’ from PMP. **kaka/** aka ‘same’), ***wani*** (‘y//Sib from PMP. *hua(n)ji ‘same’), ***saha*** (‘spouse’ from PMP. *qasawa ‘same’), ***ua*** (‘FeB, FeZ, MeZ probably from *wa shortened form of *tuha ‘old, senior’, widespread in the Malayic subgroup), and ***nusi*** (‘PPPP/CCCC’, a kin term attested throughout eastern Indonesia). However, even if we assume the accuracy of these reconstructions, they do not permit us to infer patterns of marriage. Words used as social classifiers can indeed be fossilized in

language, as with other kinds of lexical classifier (Grinevald 2000), but as with some grammatical classifiers this may result in bringing together categories that make no semantic sense in the present, and may not have done so in the past, being a consequence of random effects of lexical loss and addition, and contextual syntactical convenience.

Several decades of analysis of kinship terminologies have demonstrated the hazards of reconstructing both current patterns of behaviour from kin terms as well as historic patterns (see Blust 1980 for an attempt), warning us against the difficulties of using linguistic data to infer actual patterns of practice in the present, let alone in the past. Researchers working in the Moluccas have become sceptical of placing too much reliance on terminology (Molnar 2000: 24). The complex picture for actual use of terms portrayed here for Nuaulu is further evidence of this difficulty. When we come to look at actual marriage patterns, we will find further substantiation. Kin terms are not acquired simply by passing from mind to mind, but are learned in contexts of use, and as we have seen already these contexts can be very variable, and filter the ways in which people use terms, the meanings they attach to them, and how in turn they are made available to be transmitted to the next generation. In Chapter 7 we will examine the numerical data for cousin marriage, and in Chapter 9 its wider significance at the present time.

Note

1 Tongli (e.g. 1994: 175) uses ***ama mantu***, though this is a hybrid Nuaulu-Indonesian (characteristically Ambonese) term for WF.

6
Marriage 1

Exchange, process and transaction

Exchange and exogamy

Both Nuaulu clans and sacred houses are linked together through exchange, making descent and alliance mutually constitutive. Ritual life is permeated by constant gift transactions between the (usually) two houses of the same clan and between clans, through intermarriage and other relations of dependency. The division of the clan into two sacred houses and their symmetrical relationship is evident in most major rituals of the life-cycle (Ellen 2012). The exchange that accompanies marriage (***mausahae***; to marry: ***ausaha***, syn. ***nana***, lit. 'to fetch') similarly forms part of a continuous flow between wife-givers (***hanahanai***) and wife-takers (***tanaite***), and between parents related through married couples (***suanane***) formed by their children, and who thereby become ***mahu*** (parents-in-law). All clans are both wife-takers and wife-givers for other clans, a relationship underpinned by a complex series of prescriptions and prohibitions. Pairs of clans are involved in patterns of marital exchange between individuals (a temporary exchange for the lifetime of the partners) and group alliances (a perpetual connection) (cf. Valeri 2001 [1980]: 143), though the relationship between the pairs varies. The most important and strongest affinal relations are those between in-laws of the same sex. Relations between in-laws of the opposite sex are ambiguous, because while they signal 'kin-relatedness' by virtue of an existing union, the individuals concerned are themselves potential marriage partners. Although marital relations between clans are expressed in the language of precedence, exchange is conspicuously symmetrical and

egalitarian, with the aligned groups losing their hierarchical connotations and paired clans locked into expectations of role mutuality. Each clan as a whole is also engaged in reciprocal exchanges with other clans through marital alliance and puberty ceremonies.

The exchanges between clans and between the sacred houses that compose them become socially visible, and are theatrically expressed, through ritual. For example, in certain life-cycle ceremonies one sacred house – that is, one half of a clan – will carry out rituals for the other: washing a newborn baby and its mother when both emerge from post-partum seclusion, or cutting the first hair of an infant. In other life-cycle rituals it is clans that perform this reciprocal function: at male puberty, or when an elder receives a decorated barkcloth. In other rituals focused on the communal (village) sacred house, or ***suane,*** clans share distributed ritual duties and collectively participate. Most collective ritual is, therefore, about exchange. It cannot take place without it, and cycles of ritual are therefore in an important sense 'cycles of exchange'. Valeri (2001) speaks of a tension between autonomy and heteronomy amongst the Huaulu, and a similar tension can be seen in Nuaulu society in terms of, on the one hand, the clan and sacred house assertion of independent identity through descent, and on the other (as reflected in the complementarities of ritual), in the evident periodic need to ally with other clans and sacred houses to ensure their continuity by reproducing themselves.

The next two chapters are about marriage. In the present chapter I examine the process of getting married for individual persons. I look at the different ways in which a union can be established, how it is secured and the transactions that underpin this. In Chapter 7 I investigate the patterns of relationship that result from individual marriages, how exogamy (a consequence of a negative injunction against marrying within a house or clan) results in alliance (with wider political implications and consequences), and how social classification expressed in language (and outlined in Chapter 5) relates to the empirical relations established through marriage. Chapter 8 examines what happens in those instances when rules and expectations do not translate into practice, and how the sanctions associated with them (especially for incest prohibitions) provide a framework for social control that is consistent with the reproduction of a particular pattern of social organization.

Typologizing marriage

It has become standard in ethnographic works on the Moluccas to distinguish between marriage by elopement (AM *kawin lari*), marriage by moving into the household of the wife's parents (AM *kawin masuk*) and marriage by request or negotiation (AM *kawin minta*). There are well-understood terms for each of these in Nuaulu language: for the first ***mausaha makarumate*** or ***ruma nae pina***, for the second ***iae nisi pina***, and for the third ***sou mainae***. ***Sou mainae*** is by negotiation and always involves complex material transactions. ***Iae nisi pina***, as we have discovered in Chapters 3 and 4, is where the groom moves in to the household of the bride's parents, and ***makarumate*** or ***ruma nae pina*** where both bride and groom elope without formal negotiations or payments, at least initially. All three forms of marriage entail an alliance between clans, although the consequences in each case vary. We might add to these terms ***sukarua***, where all parties agree that the union should go ahead, but – at least for the time being – without underpinning material transactions. This is generally marriage for love, the acceptable face, as it were, of elopement, although also consistent with ***iae nisi pina***. Marriages described as ***sukarua*** have much increased since the 1970s, and in my initial fieldwork during 1970–71 I identified only two that were described as such. Of course, ***sukarua*** need not be inconsistent with marriages described in other ways, which may account for the figure of 51 percent that Bolton (1997b: 72) provides, and may be 'corrected' to ***sou mainae***. One case, the union in Rouhua between Rahimaa Neipani-tomoien (b. 1962) and Sahune Matoke-pina (b. 1955) was described as ***tentene***, and is likely to have been a coercive marriage.

In the comparative literature the terms *lari*, *masuk* and *minta* are treated as if they label parallel alternatives (Ter Haar 1948: 164–7; Cooley 1962b: 21–6), when in fact, in the Nuaulu situation at least, it is possible to move from one to the other within a marriage. While a couple may retain the status of the union as originally constituted, it is quite common for *lari* to move to *masuk* and *masuk* to *minta*, while sometimes *lari* and *masuk*, and *masuk* and *minta* can be simultaneous statuses, as can *lari*, *masuk* and ***sukarua***. The way these categories have been reified in the past is a bit like the way in which 'types of household' were synchronously distinguished before the adoption of a developmental cycle perspective (Fortes 1966; Chapter 4 here). It is important to bear in mind the fluid character of these descriptions

when interpreting data in the Nuaulu kinship corpus. In describing each type, I start with *lari*, the most frequent, to dispel any idea that somehow *minta* is always an ideal type to which all aspire.

There is, therefore, no necessary association between the status of an individual independent of marriage on the one hand, and the type of marriage he or she initially contracted on the other. For example, the ***ia onate*** Matoke-pina, regarded as the senior clan chief in matters of ritual and traditional lore, contracted a marriage by elopement. In certain cases, though, it appears that status may affect aspects of the union. Thus, Mosone Soumori, the eldest son and heir to Komisi, the ***ia onate*** Soumori in Rouhua, initially married by ***iae nisi pina***. In the event, he never resided in the house of his wife's father, as it was felt that his position as heir to chiefly status made it imperative for him to reside in the sacred house of his own clan, for which he would in due course become the guardian. The status of a marriage can, therefore, be upgraded. In this case, a person who had originally married by ***iae nisi pina*** moved to ***sou mainae***. Both sets of parents expressed a wish for full marriage-wealth to be paid, because, they maintained, the ancestors would otherwise be disgraced and ashamed.

Table 6.1 Type of marriage contracted and relationship category for male unions recorded in the Nuaulu kinship database, for (A) 1970–71 and for (B) 2015

Type of marriage	*By negotiation (sou mainae; AM minta)*		*By entering household of bride (iae nisi pina; AM masuk)*		*By elopement (ruma nae pina; AM lari)*		*Totals*	
	A	*B*	*A*	*B*	*A*	*B*	*A*	*B*
Cross-cousin	1 (1)	24 (39)	5 (6)	1 (10)	4 (5)	14 (8)	10 (12)	39 (18)
Other Nuaulu	–	38 (61)	11 (13)	8 (80)	61 (72)	145 (83)	72 (85)	191 (74)
Non-Nuaulu	–	0	1 (1)	1 (10)	2 (2)	17 (10)	3 (3)	18 (8)
Totals	1 (1)	62 (25)	17 (20)	10 (4)	67 (79)	176 (71)	85 (100)	248 (100

Percentage proportions are in parenthesis. Data unavailable in six cases.

Table 6.1 is an attempt to make some sense of the frequency of the different forms or phases of marriage arrangement. The data used here

derive from the cumulative kinship corpus available to me in 2015, incorporating the 1970–71 data (Ellen 1978: 50), and all data on marriages collected since then. The data are incomplete (especially for marriages since 1971, including for Nuanea), but are nevertheless considerably expanded when compared with the data I collected in 1970–71: 248 marriages compared to 85. The data are compiled from records listed for males, and to simplify refer to first marriages only. Where marriages have moved from *lari* to *masuk* or *masuk* to *minta*, or through all three stages, I refer to the initial arrangement not the subsequent phases.

Given the overlap between *lari*, *masuk* and *minta*, with one form morphing over time into another, attempts at precise measurement are hazardous. For example, someone might claim at a particular time that they are at the initial stages of ***sou mainae*** negotiations following an earlier elopement, and the conditions of ***sou mainae*** may never be fulfilled and the marriage-wealth never agreed. Others may optimistically claim that a ***ruma nae pina*** marriage is in process of being upgraded, and of a particular union it might be said ***pamanisa tau sou mainae***, that it is being 'corrected' or 'repaired' to a ***sou mainae*** marriage. Still, the figures provided are usefully indicative, illustrating, for example, just how much more common ***iae nisi pina*** is for Nuaulu from 1970 onwards compared with the data assembled by Cooley (1962b: 20) for Ambonese Christians in the late 1950s, where it was very infrequent. By comparison, while Nuaulu *kawin minta* increased from 1 percent in 1971 to 25 percent in 2015,[1] Hagen (2006: 91), using a sample of 75 Maneo marriages contracted between 1945 and 1994, notes that just six qualified as arranged (8 percent), partly due to a reduction in the availability of marriage-wealth valuables in a system where there is no monetary transaction.

Overall, by comparing Nuaulu data for 1971 with accumulated data as they stood in 2015, we can see that the number of ***sou mainae*** marriages has actually increased, that ***iae nisi pina*** marriages appear to have decreased, while elopements have remained much the same as a proportion. Given that the 2015 figures incorporate the 1971 figures, we would expect this to suppress somewhat any changes taking place, but the trajectories are clear.[2] The rise in ***sou mainae*** marriages may reflect greater availability of (particularly) financial resources, though not of those traditional objects required for marriage-wealth. The decrease in ***iae nisi pina*** marriages may be a consequence of a decline in the need to rely on affinal labour due to

population growth, combined with a preference for avoiding dependence on another clan wherever possible. Equally, the true number of such marriages may be masked by people describing the arrangement in other ways, and converting them to ***sou mainae***. Thus, in a ***sou maenae*** marriage, and also in many elopements, ***konaupu*** (bride service) is still expected. That elopement figures remain approximately the same confirms a trend in which this has become the standard 'entry level' marriage for most partners. Not shown in Table 6.1, and not recorded in 1970–71 are marriages described as ***sukarua*** (love marriages). These are usually elopements but may also fall within the other types, 85 (34 percent) being so described to me between 1995 and 2015.

There is a slight increase in marriages with non-Nuaulu, which we might expect given the influx of migrants and greater Nuaulu mobility and education. We might also expect marriage with non-Nuaulu to be strongly associated with elopement. In 1970 this was indeed the case, running at 3 percent of all those unions in the sample. In the total corpus available in 2015 this percentage had grown to 7–8 percent, as we might predict given the heavy in-flow of transmi-grants, increased schooling and general contact with the outside world. In fact, if we were to look only at the data from 1972 to 2015 the percentage increase would likely be even greater. In the corpus as it stood in 2015, 17 of 248 marriages (10 percent) were women married to non-Nuaulu. Of these, five were to men from Flores, two Butonese, and there was one each from Kei, Rumah Olat (a Nuaulu-speaking Christian village on the north coast of Seram), Hatuheno (a nearby Sepa-speaking Christian village), Kairatu (west Seram), Porto (Saparua), Yalahatan and Sahunulu (on the south coast east of Sepa). Of the 234 marriage between males and non-Nuaulu females, three each were from Kei and Hatuheno, two each from Sepa and Yalahatan, and one each from Tehoru, Tengah-Tengah (Ambon), Rumah Olat, Yalahatan, Rutah, Taniwel, Kisar and Batuwael, Saparua and the Netherlands. The largest number of non-Nuaulu women were marrying into Rouhua (9 percent of male marriages in Rouhua, compared with 2 percent for all other Nuaulu settlements combined). Rouhua was by 2015 the largest Nuaulu settlement (even larger in terms of population than the new *desa* of Nuanea) and has received a greater proportion of migrants than other settlements. It also has a reputation amongst other Nuaulu for unorthodoxy in ritual and other customary matters. My data for Nuanea are limited, but although in some respects it has established a reputation for modernization and accommodation with the

Indonesian state; it in part owes its existence paradoxically to a desire to be more ‘traditional’, as we shall see in Chapter 9.

Most significantly for the purposes of the current analysis is the number of persons reported as marrying ‘cross-cousins’ (opposite sex siblings of those in a ***makae*** relationship), which has increased markedly, a subject I will return to in Chapter 7. For now we need to consider each of ***ruma nae pina***, ***iae nisi pina*** and ***sou mainae*** in further detail.

Elopement

Marriage by elopement (***mausahu makarumate***, ***ruma nae pina***) has been by far the commonest way for Nuaulu to establish a conjugal relationship throughout the second half of the twentieth century, and up until the present. It is nevertheless disapproved of by the ancestors, and by the families and clans involved, something that brings shame and disgrace. The usual initial reaction from kin is one of public anger, and for some it is considered theft. Efforts must always be seen to be being made to prevent and avoid elopement, and where it does occur to respond in appropriately outraged ways and to seek retribution to undo reputational damage. However, in many cases these initial responses are the expected stereotypical ones, and may mask underlying (more supportive) motivations and attitudes.

The circumstances prompting elopement are various. It may occur when parents cannot agree to an offspring’s choice of partner. At other times, parents may approve but other clan members may not. More generally, it is the parents of a daughter who complain rather than those of a son, though in many cases both sets of parents will act as if they are opposed. However, it is also the case that elopement may be approved of in practice by the relatives of a groom as a way of avoiding the immediate burden of paying marriage-wealth or arranging a wedding. After a suitable time delay, varying in proportion to the anger of the parties involved, a couple may return and be recognized de facto as man and wife. Often the couple will live in the house of the bride’s parents, so that in effect the marriage becomes ***iae nisi pina***, although there may still be an expectation that marriage-wealth will at some point be paid. But if there is a reconciliation, the groom (and therefore, effectively his house or clan) is expected to pay a fine (***asau***) of five meters

of red cloth, 500,000 rupiah and one porcelain plate to the girl's parents, in addition to any marriage-wealth that might be later negotiated. It is often the case that a groom is not in a position to pay such a fine. Thus, despite the public (one might say structural) disapproval of elopement, it is in effect a legitimate marriage strategy, considered widely in the central Moluccas to be *adat* (or customary) in the sense of a recognized cultural practice, but not for Nuaulu ***monne*** (that which is ritually acceptable and ordained by the ancestors).

The average age of marriage for men in 1970 was about 20, and for girls between 17 and 20. By 2015 average age had risen slightly due mainly to the constraints imposed by more adolescents continuing in their schooling. Before marriage, a girl will always have gone through her puberty ceremony, and a male is also expected to have gone through his, though some men do marry before the ***matahenne*** ceremony. Napuae Soumori had a Nuelitetu girlfriend, a Christian, in the sixth grade at Sepa school during the 1960s, before he had gone through his puberty ceremony. He was going to marry the woman who is now the wife of Menai Sounaue-ainakahata, but her parents were described by him as ***aumene*** (mean) and would not even allow him to enter the house and sit with her. Thus, while a female becomes eligible for marriage as soon as she is physically able to conceive children, as triggered by her first menstruation and the seclusion and ritual that follows this, a man sometimes does not go through the ***matahenne*** for some years after he has physically matured. This is partly because of the necessity to wait for sufficient numbers of eligible candidates to make the ceremonies viable, but also because of the technical skills required by neophytes to perform the rituals. Undoubtedly a tension develops between the desire to marry and the strict prohibition against it. There is, however, no restriction on non-initiates having sexual relations. Elopement is, therefore, the only form of marriage open to men who have not yet gone through their puberty ceremony, received their ***karanunu*** (red head scarf; AM *kain berang*) and ***matahenne*** (ceremonial barkcloth). Where this does happen, a heavy fine is involved.

There are other cases in the Nuaulu kinship corpus where a male has married before going through his puberty ceremony. One is Menai Sounaue-ainakahata, who eloped with Patima Matoke-pina, and later entered an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage by living with his in-laws. According to my records, no marriage-wealth was ever agreed or paid, and the couple – much later – converted to Christianity. A similar case is that of Nesia Neipani-tomoien

who eloped in 1975, before his ***matahenne***, with Ananoia Peinisa from Bunara, a girl much older than himself. Mosone Soumori claims that marrying before the ***matahenne*** is quite common in the clan Neipani-tomoien, and he cited the case of Kaisa, who subsequently became government headman of Rouhua and in 2010 moved to Moni as head of a newly segmented sub-clan, Neipani-runusa. I am not aware of other cases, though variations in its occurrence between clans must to some extent reflect frequency of puberty ceremonies, which in turn is a function of availability of males of a suitable age. I suspect also that such marriages are more likely to occur nowadays than before, due to pressures of increased contact with outsiders and familiarity with wider 'modern' Indonesian cultural norms accessible through mass media.

In cases where the hostility of kin and clan elders can be gauged with some accuracy, it may only be necessary for the couple to make a symbolic elopement of one night to a garden hut. However, although no precise records are available for other societies, the number of marriages formed in this way is considerably fewer than among adjacent communities. Cooley (1962b: 21) estimated that in the Christian villages he studied in Ambon-Lease in the late 1950s, 90 percent of unions were formed by elopement (compared with 71 percent for contemporary Nuaulu), though I myself have obtained statements from Butonese and indigenous Moluccan Muslim informants that suggest that in these communities the incidence is rather lower. The reason for this general picture is not difficult to find. Whereas Nuaulu still attach great importance to formally approved modes of marriage alliance between clans, among Christian Ambonese and de-culturated Seramese, while a Christian or Muslim wedding has superseded older customs in terms of prestige, an elopement is often preferred for reasons of convenience, and may even on occasions be engineered by the parents of the couple involved. As we have seen, Nuaulu also share this practice, but they regard it as contrary to the wishes of the ancestors and speak with some shame about its increase in recent years. Where it occurs, it is almost always a device to obtain de facto recognition of a disapproved union, and a means of avoiding financially damaging amounts of marriage-wealth.

There are, however, always some elopements that trigger real rather than symbolic hostility, occasionally leading to inter-clan feuding. The case of Surita Matoke-pina and Asue Sounaue-ainakahata described in some detail in Chapter 8 involved a melée between armed combatants in which several persons were severely wounded, and which resulted in the banishment of the

couple concerned. This may have been exceptional, indeed it concerned an allegation of incest, but the intriguing fact remains that 71 percent of Nuaulu marriages are, initially at least, disapproved of by one or other or both of the clans concerned. The reason for this is, at least partially, demographic – a low total population and an unequal sex ratio in favour of men – which restricts choice in mate selection. It is also related to the scarcity and consequently inflated value of traditional valuables required for marriage transactions, the difficulties of mobilizing cash payments and a desire to secure a good bargaining position. But it is not (as is true for Christian Ambonese) seen as an alternative to marriage-wealth, which will still be vociferously demanded by members of the bride's clan, even if payment is delayed for years, and even if the marriage-wealth is never paid at all. In one such case in 1970 the sum demanded was 7000 rupiah, one plate and one red cloth, the amount of cash being considerably higher than in many cases of ***iae nisi pina*** or even ***sou mainae*** at that time. Unlike the Ambonese described by Cooley, elopement is not merely chosen to avoid negotiation, ceremony and expense, and all those persons married in this way were emphatic that they would have married by some other legitimate means, had it been possible.

Further differences in the particulars between cases of elopement are exemplified in the following two accounts from my field notes:

Case 6.1: April 1971, Rouhua: Unsa and Yohanes 'tuli'

On arriving back in Rouhua from Tehoru I heard that Unsa Sounaue-ainakahata and her husband, Yohanes '*tuli*' (deaf Yohanes) had returned to Rouhua following their elopement, only to get embroiled in a melée. The husband fled to the Christian village of Hatuheno. The outcome of events remains uncertain as I write this, but Unsa's parents – Hatarai and Alewa – appear to have accepted the union as a fait accompli, on the understanding that marriage-wealth of some kind will be paid. So the problem now focuses around the question of the amount.… Discussions concerning this were held in Rouhua on 3 April with Yohanes, Hatarai and Alewa, other Sounaue-ainakahata elders, and with Komisi Soumori (village head) and Surita Matoke-pina (then the Rouhua *wakil*, assistant to the government village head), the point being that it had become a village issue, involving outside communities. It would appear that the status of the union is being upgraded through the insistence on paying marriage-wealth.

Case 6.2: April 1990, Rouhua: Rosina and Patiwaele

Apparently, Rosina, the daughter of Eli Tanlai, an immigrant from Flores married to Nerita (the daughter of Temene Matoke-pina) has eloped with Patiwaele, the son of Tuisa Neipani-tomoien. Rosina, born in 1976 is therefore 14, and Patiwaele I judge to be about 17. Eli reported the elopement to the police in Amahai and Patiwaele was apprehended twice by the officers and put in a cell for four days before being released. The pair are now living in Saite Soumori's house under the protection of Komisi, the ***ia onate ankarua*** (Rouhua village head). Eli is asking for 1.5 million rupiah and two large gongs (in accordance – he says – with Flores customary law). This is thought to be thoroughly unreasonable and Komisi has suggested that Eli should probably move to Tehoru or somewhere else, out of loss of face. However, in my experience there is always a long-term reconciliation in such *kawin lari* matters [and so it proved].

Iae nisi pina and *konaupu*

Iae nisi pina marriage can be seen as the greater part (the residential arrangement) of which ***konaupu*** (bride service) is part, though the terms are sometimes used as if they were interchangeable. Bolton and Matoke (2005: 55), for example, defines ***konaupu*** as *kawin masuk*. But the ***konaupu*** can also be understood as part of those transactions that accompany ***sou mainae*** marriage, that is, the creation of any conjugal relationship that establishes or continues an alliance between clans, and through which the husband supplies certain resources to the household of the wife. For Tongli (1994: 408) ***konaupu*** is really 'services for the ancestors'.

In an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage no payments are initially paid and both parties reside in the house of the bride's parents: it is thus ***iae nisi pina*** with ***konaupu***, but no marriage-wealth. On the assumption that marriage-wealth will be eventually paid it is, therefore, a kind of 'probationary' period (cf. Hagen 2006: 120–5), a temporary phase of uxorilocal residence, that after a few years will transition into a more permanent arrangement, the duration of which depends largely on timing and the distribution of marriage-wealth.

A potential groom uses a male or female (usually a sister or friend, but not a sister's husband) secret go-between to ask the bride if she will marry. If the parents agree, the man moves in. After a simple ceremony the couple live with the parents until usually both have died, sharing with the entire household. All married men must work for their affines, in the gardens and about the village, and must present them with gifts of meat, sago and garden produce. The bride's father is adopted as father by the groom, for whom he works until the father dies, when his daughter and her husband move to the

house of the husband's father. However, when the bride's brothers reach maturity, the bride and groom may set up a separate household. The arrangement may also involve the labour of the groom's younger married sisters.

Iae nisi pina is often a way of regularizing a relationship following elopement, but in some cases may be deliberately sought by the parties involved, for example as a way of reducing marriage-wealth, or avoiding it altogether. If there is ***konaupu***, the payment is substantially less, or there may be no marriage-wealth at all. More frequently ***iae nisa pina*** marriage is a response to the inability of the groom, his father's household or clan to find the marriage-wealth requested by the girl's clan. This in effect means that the 'debt' of the bride-takers to the bride-givers is perpetuated for the life of the union, whereas in ***sou mainae*** marriage the payment of marriage-wealth is regarded as a once-and-for all affair. It should be pointed out though, that wife-takers are always considered to be in (structural) debt to wife-givers, irrespective of the type of union involved. Where marriage-wealth is demanded but not paid, the defaulting party can expect 'trouble'. This was how Komisi described the arrangement for the marriage of Nepenama Sounaue-ainakahata and Niniono Neipani-tomoien in 1971, where no marriage-wealth was paid. The 'trouble' Komisi had in mind was ancestral retribution – that there might be no children, or if there were that they would be sick. As it transpired, Nepenama and Niniono had 12 surviving children before they divorced and remarried in 1990.

In 1971 ***iae nisi pina*** was more common than ***sou mainae*** and looked upon as the norm, something to be expected for at least a phase in the marital life-cycle. A consequence of this was a desire for female children, for this meant that when these married they would bring in men from other clans to work for the household. A bride's parents would nearly always enter upon marriage negotiations with a view to ***iae nisi pina*** and unless the marriage-wealth was unusually high or there were really exceptional circumstances the bride-givers would have their way.

As we can see from the numbers presented in Table 6.1, by 2015 there were relatively few cases of ***iae nisi pina*** where there had been no prior elopement, which it regularized. ***Iae nisi pina***, unlike elopement, has the prior approval of the parties concerned and is secured by ceremony and the expectation that marriage-wealth will be paid at some stage. Sometimes it is designed to meet certain specific situations – for example, in order for a male affine to act as a provider in a household with no or few active adult

males, and thus making affinity a form of labour recruitment. In such a case a husband's period of residence with his wife's family is until another mature male (say a brother of the wife) becomes available. It is rarely a permanent arrangement, so much so that of the 11 unions reported as having been established in this way in Rouhua in 1971 only two were still residing uxorilocally. In most instances of ***iae nisi pina*** marriage a husband tries to set up a separate household as soon as possible, though his affinal obligations will still remain intact. Moreover, what are in one sense obligations are in another sense benefits to his own clan in that he is able to supply his kinsmen from the gardens of his affines. Indeed, a bride's clan will often make a gift of land – sometimes more than one ***wasi*** (a unit of land usually comprising more than one garden or potential garden) – to the husband shortly after marriage. But this does not seem to be an incentive for ***iae nisa pina*** marriage in particular, as it may occur as often in conjunction with other types of marriage establishment.

In exceptional circumstances, for example where the clan is unable to meet – in part or entirely – the expenses of a ***iae nisi pina*** marriage, the first child of that union may become a member of the bride's clan instead and take that clan's name (see also Hagen 2006: 132, 137, where a defaulting husband may also be incorporated into his wife's clan). We have already encountered this arrangement in Chapters 3 and 4: 'paying with a person' – ***hunonini tau mansia***. It is regarded as a great humiliation to alienate any potential clan member, but is sometimes a way of coping with the offspring of unmarried mothers, as the strength of the clan lies, partially, at least, in its numbers. Tongli (1994: 238–242) tells us that as part of the marriage arrangements for Naya Peinisa (the son of Manue and Massa) and Rahie (daughter of Marpati Sounaue and Kasinue Kamama), in addition to payments of four red porcelain dishes (***hanainae msinae***), each containing 25,000 rupiah, a male child was given as a replacement for Rahie's brother (Pakea) who in turn had been given to Kamama as part of the marriage-wealth paid by Sounaue for Marpati's marriage to Kasinue. Thus, there are occasions when chains of relationships are established between clans through the transfer of individuals, other than brides and grooms, and who contribute to the biological reproduction and labour of a wife's clan. The birth of the first son to Naya and Rahie became an opportunity for the two clans to celebrate the adoption of the young boy into Rahie's father's clan, a ritual called 'entering the kinship group to replace the mother' or ***usu ipane pusu ikati inai naniai***. The reason for gifting the boy is to replace the

mother’s brother who has gone to the clan in the case of the parent’s marriage. The act of gifting the boy to the other clan changes his identity, giving him different ancestors, a different ritual group and different kin.

The period of uxorilocal residence usually ends with the birth ritual of the first child, considered to be the ‘fruit’ of the ***konaupu*** – a gift in return from the ancestors, or sometimes it is prompted by the death of the wife’s parents. At this point most elementary families then either set up residence separately or live with the kin of the husband.

Marriages of ‘big words’ and ‘great value’

Sou mainae, literally ‘big talk’, refers to marriages by request, proposal or negotiation, alternatively (Tongli 1994) described as marriages of ‘great value or renown’ (***hunonini mainae***). Although only constituting 25 percent of initial marriages in 2015, they are the default pattern with which all other forms are compared and which other forms seek to become. Some couples who have the money and goods sufficient to pay marriage-wealth and enjoy the status of a ‘marriage of renown’ do not do so for other reasons. Those destined to become ***ia onate*** or ***kapitane*** are more likely to marry ***so mainae***, while it is additionally preferable for an elder brother to marry before his younger sister. If an elder brother is not already married, a groom must seek agreement from him and the girl’s parents and pay these parties monetary sums (in recent decades, in the region of 50,000 and 25,000 rupiah, respectively) in addition to the basic marriage-wealth.

Although Nuaulu marriage is formally a contract between two clans, and the conjugal pair the pivot through which they are linked, in practice marriage always involves at least three clans. This is because a central figure in marriage-wealth negotiations is the bride’s mother’s brother (and to a lesser extent her father’s younger brother), while the convener of bride service arrangements on the groom’s side is his sister’s husband. Often the mother’s brother will be informed of the impending marriage before her parents. If repeat marriage has been practiced with the maternal clan, the bride’s mother’s brother might be in the groom’s clan, and a groom’s sister’s husband in the bride’s clan.

In theory, it is the sacred house of the groom that has to find a marriageable woman. The sacred house guardian calls its members to a meeting to determine from which house they will request a woman as a bride. After finding a suitable girl (***mane***), a messenger or go-between (***manori sou***) is sent to the girl's sacred house to speak to the parents and family, asking if the girl intends to marry the young man of his house. This intermediary is usually a sister's husband or a female parallel cousin's husband of the groom, that is, someone in a ***sau monne*** avoidance relationship with the bride. It is this person who often supervises the negotiations, employing specialist rhetorical speech conventions, and moves to-and-fro between those acting for each clan. A girl is not allowed to refuse an offer if it is her parent's wish. The process of arranging a formal marriage, whether ***sou mainae*** or ***iae nisi pina***, is initiated when the prospective groom makes a formal request to the girl's kin. This is never undertaken on the initiative of the groom himself and the clan elders will have discussed his marital prospects prior to this. The groom may be in full agreement with his elders, or he may show some reluctance to enter into the union, but will seldom refuse. Also, the clan of the projected bride may have anticipated such a request – especially if she is an eligible MBD, and the request will merely herald the beginning of formal inter-clan negotiations. In the case of Napuae Soumori, it was his adoptive father Hatarai, who approached the parents of Siloo Neipani-tomoien with the proposition of marriage. Since Siloo was the daughter of his mother's brother (someone he calls ***hotako***), this was regarded as a very desirable marriage from an alliance point of view. A request is rarely made unless it is pretty certain that the girl's kin will agree to the union. If the parents agree to progress then preparations can start, including determining the marriage-wealth.

The negotiations mark the first part of often complex marriage arrangements, known as ***uwaso nana umau***, which begin with the girl's mother's brother suggesting what he regards as an appropriate quantity of valuables and cash to be paid for his sister's daughter. Normally, nowadays, the amount initially requested is considered unrealistic and seldom accepted. If it is, or if a marginally smaller sum is agreed upon, it will usually mean a ***sou mainae*** marriage has been agreed, which the Nuaulu regard as the status accorded a person whose kin have paid the full marriage-wealth, unless the girl's kin and her mother's brother have already made it clear that they are in favour of an ***iae nisi pina*** contract, where there would usually be a reduced payment.

In the negotiations around the marriage of Napuae Soumori to Siloo Neipanitomoien in 1970, Siloo's parents initially requested 20,000 rupiah, five plates and five pieces of red cloth. Komisi said that a normal marriage-wealth would have been about 15,000 rupiah and five plates at that time. It was expected that the money would come from Napuae himself, Komisi (his clan chief) and Hatarai (his adoptive father). For Napuae this was too much money to find, while the plates were unavailable. Surita, Siloo's mother's brother, separately, also made an initial demand of 5000 rupiah (at that time about 5.5 pound sterling) together with two large porcelain plates. This was regarded as too high by the groom's clan, especially as an ***iae nisi pina*** union had already been agreed, and Komisi for the clan Soumori countered this with what was thought to be a more realistic payment of 2000 rupiah and two plates. In the event the marriage-wealth actually paid to Siloo's clan and to her mother's brother combined was considerably above this figure. Negotiations may last for several months until everything is considered settled, and even then some uncertainties may remain – as we shall see.

Once a marriage has been arranged, irrespective of whether or not the terms of the union have been fully agreed, mention of it, except by those clan elders involved (on both sides) is prohibited. The man's kin should not mention the name of the girl, least of all her potential husband, and the reciprocal position applies to the members of the girl's clan. Should the name of either bride or groom be uttered in the presence of the other, it would be considered deeply embarrassing. Furthermore, there is a strict avoidance relationship between the couple. In practice, everyone knows the name of the girl, but the groom is expected to be embarrassed by any reference to her. A man who is engaged to a girl must not sit or sleep with her (strictly speaking he is allowed no contact with her whatsoever), but this is not usually practicable and he may see her, and even have a few words with her. The identity of bride and groom are generally formally made known once the marriage-wealth has been decided.

The clan leader officiates at the ceremony where marriage-wealth is presented and where advice is given by him and the wife's mother. At the time the marriage-wealth is paid, the pair spends at least one night in the house of the bride's parents before returning to the house of the groom or establishing their own household. This period of uxorilocal residence may extend between 15 days to several months, during which time both bride and groom assist in food-getting and housework. Land is also given as part of a

sou mainae marriage settlement, while a husband will also be expected to work on the land of a wife's father.

Material transactions

Most ritual exchanges between Nuaulu houses and clans involve the movement of objects, some of which are of little material value but of great symbolic value, and others which constitute intrinsic material value. In introducing the concept of 'house', we have seen how important the physical sacra they contain are for its conceptualization, but, as I have explained elsewhere (Ellen 2012: 50), it is important also to distinguish inalienable objects (such as barkcloth made for male puberty ceremonies) which signifies descent, and alienable objects which can be exchanged, such as those that pass between clans to underpin affinal relationships and alliance.[3] As in many eastern Indonesian societies, what are often called marriage prestations are not easily separable from what others call 'alliance payments' (Barnes 1980b: 94), and the movement of such objects trace social pathways beyond the focal persons involved in a transaction. Thus, in the Nuaulu case (as in other parts of Seram e.g. Hagen 2006: 133) the transfer of valuable objects can be seen to structure relations between affines. 'Bridewealth' also is too narrow a way of describing the transfers of value associated with marriage in systems involving 'reciprocal and opposed cycles of prestations associated with alliance' (Needham 1962: 95). Here I speak of 'marriage-wealth', a phrase which is more neutral and which at least glosses closely enough with AM *harta kawin* (marriage property), and the meanings Nuaulu attach to this. However, as others have noted for marriage transactions on Seram (Valeri 1994; Hagen 2006: 108), marriage-wealth as a whole is emphatically considered to be a purchase by wife-takers of a woman against the flow of valuables, though not a sale by wife-givers. It is thus something more than a 'rhetorical move', and on several occasions informants compared it to mundane cash transactions.

Material transactions or 'movements' accompanying marriage are of three broad types: (1) the formal marriage-wealth comprising valuable objects (***aratae***), red cloth (***karanunu***) and money (***kepeni***); (2) the marriage service (***konaupu***); and (3) the payments made by the bride's clan to that of the

groom. The presentation of these elements is interspersed by the giving of feasts (***nasae***) and other minor gifts. In the present section I focus specifically on the marriage-wealth itself, and in the subsequent section on procurement, discuss ***konaupu***, return transfers and other minor gift-giving.

The marriage-wealth in the strict sense is usually divided into ***hunonini***, ***susa*** and ***sani***: the first requested by the bride's parents, the second by her various patrilineal relatives and the third by an unmarried eldest brother. Each, during the various periods I have spent with the Nuaulu, have comprised three main components: valuables or ***aratae*** (ideally ancient porcelain plates and bowls described as ***hanainae***);[4] lengths of red cloth (***karanunu***, AM *kain berang*) and money (***kepeni***). In the past, it is said that the ***hunonini*** comprised a human head, and during the period immediately following the cessation of active head-hunting and until 1970, additional items were said to be common, including brass gongs (***hahuka***), textiles (especially ***patona*** cloth from India, so-called because its pattern resembles that of a python's skin) and *kain timor*), and a larger quantity of Chinese porcelain and other glazed plates. As the supply of old plates has declined during the twentieth century in particular, due to breakage and in some cases sale to peripatetic *orang tukan antik* (antique dealers), modern cheap china plates have taken their place, as they have in other ritual exchanges. However, at least for the animist community, old plates have not been fully commoditized and continue to circulate as part of a separate sphere of exchange. Red cloth was also given and worn before the move to the coast, but was much more scarce than it is nowadays. It is claimed that such trade items over time became an alternative to presenting the bride's clan with heads. The tradition of head-hunting is still important for understanding the symbolism of marriage transactions, for the plates are said to represent the heads of victims formerly offered in exchange for a wife, and the red cloth the victim's blood. Today, for some clans, a large red plate is seen as a substitute for a gong, and if a gong forms part of the marriage-wealth it may sometimes be seen as a substitute for porcelain. Furthermore, all quantities of items involved are calculated in terms of fives or multiples of five, consistent with Nuaulu belonging to the Patalima or 'five' division of Seramese peoples.

There is no doubt that the materiality of ***aratae*** is important for Nuaulu. They are powerful sacred objects which through their social lives accrue and accumulate histories of movement (Hoskins 1998: 9), objects with which

people and clans identify, and which serve quintessentially as ‘icons of the ancestors’ (Howell 1989: 434). While ***aratae*** are mostly expected to flow uni-directionally from clan A to B to C, sometimes they may return from B to C or C to B within a generation. However, whether the motive for exchange is to acquire and hold them in some kind of political struggle for control, or to forge community from otherwise disparate individuals and groups through their exchange, is difficult to say (Weiner (1992: 63–5; Hagen 2006: 145). Nuaulu ***aratae*** are stored in clan sacred houses, in the custody of its guardian (rather than in individual houses as in Maneo, Hagen 2006: 58), the collective property of a clan. However, they only see the light of day when they are paraded on the occasion of their transfer to a new sacred house (Figure 6.1), and even then will generally be covered in red cloth. The historicity of ***aratae*** as circulating objects is well illustrated in a ritual – rarely performed – that accompanies completion of the communal ***suane*** sacred house, part of which involves the return of men who have taken wives from the village. As part of the ritual, these men make a payment to the village for having taken the women, comprising five pieces of red cloth (representing the original coastal settlement of Watane), five pieces of white cloth (***nipae putie***, representing the raja of Sepa) and five woven textiles from Nusa Tenggara (AM *kain timor*, representing the founding coastal village of Aihisuru and the clan Matoke). The wife-givers of these outside men participate in a nocturnal ***kahuae*** circle dance, holding a large plate against the backs of their brothers-in-law, the same plates that they received as payment (Ellen 2012: 250), and which are here represented by exogamous husbands to the brothers of their wives.

Figure 6.1 Valuables being transferred from the old ***numa onate*** Soumori to a new sacred house and paraded around the new house, Rouhua April 2015. Nuaulu display ***aratae*** when they move house, but otherwise sacred objects are hidden in lofts.

It was suggested to me in 1971 that an average ***susa*** payment for a ***sou mainae*** marriage would comprise five large porcelain plates (AM *piring batu*) and the same number of pieces of red cloth (each of five ***aunoa***, that is the measure of length from the tip of the fingers of one outstretched arm to the tip of the other), plus at least 1500 rupiah. Although this sum of cash was not beyond the reach of most households at that time – realized through the

sale of copra and cloves, and to a lesser extent nutmeg, deer antlers (formerly also *dammar* resin) and similar forest products – the required number of plates was seldom held by a single sacred house.[5]

Even if the plates were available, it is unlikely that sacred house guardians would wish to part with them in such large numbers, especially when it is maintained that they, along with other valuables, embody the vitality of a clan. The movement of valuables out of a clan has to be calculated against predictions of the movement of valuables into the clan, and this of course depends on the number and ratio of unmarried males to unmarried females. It was in part inflation in the value of plates (due to loss and breakage) that in 1971 led me to suspect that this might be influencing the small number of ***sou mainae*** marriages, but given the increase since then this constraint at least does not seem to have been insurmountable. Moreover, as Hagen (2006: 40) has pointed out, when brothers and paternal uncles share, they risk losing valuables they might require for their own or other marriages. Indeed, multiple marriages over a lifetime require multiple distributions of valuables, and increasing scarcity may raise the cost of sharing.

Items and quantities constituting the marriage-wealth proper, as well as the side gifts, vary depending on clan customs and negotiations, and over time. Thus, for the marriage between Mosone and Aharena in 1965, Soumori had to pay Sounaue-ainakahata five red plates, five white plates, one large plate and 20,000 rupiah; while when Retaone married Mariam in 1955, Soumori had to pay Neipani-tomoien two plates, two pieces of red cloth and 7000 rupiah; when Aharena the eldest daughter of Hunumora Neipani-nesinopu in Bunara married in 1968 he received five large plates and five pieces of red cloth, but when Saite Soumori married Pinaroi Neipani-tomoien in 1985 the payment was three large plates and 50,000 rupiah, while the payment at the marriage between Hitinesi Sounaue-ainakahata and Nehana Matoke in 1973 did not involve plates at all, but rather comprised (unusually) five *patola* cloths and 5000 rupiah, plus four *kain* wanita (women's cloths), two female blouses, one towel, a ring, and a tin of pomade. Table 6.2 lists some indicative marriage-wealth payments for a series of selected transactions between 1940 and 1973. Despite the reduction in supply for reasons already mentioned, the number of plates given does not appear to have declined. This may be partly due to substitution with cheaper shop plates or payment on credit, such that plates not available at one time may become so as they circulate and enter the stock of clans in their capacity

as wife-givers. By contrast, Hagen (2006: 85) reports that since the 1950s the quantities of valuables exchanged in Maneo have declined from nearly 30 per marriage to an average of just two since 1990.

The money component of marriage-wealth has changed over time. Of the 70 marriage records where this is reported, the mean amount in Indonesian rupiah equivalents was: for 1921–30 3,666 (3 cases), for 1931–40 2,019 (13 cases), for 1941–50 2,266 (15 cases), for 1951–60 2,633 (15 cases), and for 1961–70 11,250 (2 cases). No money payment was made in four cases, and money had yet to be paid in 16 cases.

Table 6.2 Selected marriage-wealth payments between 1940 and 1985

Year	*Settlement*	*Groom*	*Clan*	*Bride*	*Clan*	*Plates*	*Red cloth (lengths)*	*Other*	*Money (rupiah*
1940	Rouhua	Surita	Matoke-pina	Huasou	Neipani-tomoien	2	2	–	10,000
1952	Bunara	Lasumina	Pia	Houa	Sounaue-aipura	2[1]	2	–	2500
1955	Rouhua	Retaone	Soumori	Mariam	Neipani-tomoien	2	2	–	7000
1960	Bunara	Manapusia	Peinisa	Sukunima	Soumori	1	1	–	2000
1965	Rouhua	Mosone	Soumori	Aharena	Sounaue-ainakahata	11[4]	–	–	20,000
1968	Bunara	Sakamahu	Huni	Aharena	Neipani-nesinopu	5[3]	5	–	20,000
1970	Rouhua					5[3]	5	–	100,000
1973	Rouhua	Hitinesi	Sounaue-ainakahata	Nehana	Matoke-pina	–	–	5 *patola*, 4 *kain wanita*	5000
1974	Rouhua	Napuae	Soumori	Siloo	Neipani-tomoien	4			3,500
1985	Rouhua	Saite	Soumori	Pinaroi	Neipani-tomoien	3[3]	3	–	50,000
1990	Watane	Naya	Peinisa	Rahie	Sounaue-ainakahata	4[1,3]		–	50,000

Notes: [1]red plates; [2]white plates; [3]large plates (porcelain); [4,5]red plates, 5 white plates, plus 1 large plate.

We do not know for certain when money was first introduced, but most likely it was not significant before Nuaulu moved to the coast.[6] At this time, and until 1946 the currency would have been Netherlands Indies Guilders. In discussing historic marriage-wealth payments the older persons I spoke to seemed to treat Indonesian rupiahs and colonial-era guilders as equivalent and for illustrative purposes I have done the same, despite currency vulnerability and changing exchange rates during the Japanese occupation

and in the period up to Independence. The mean amount for 1900–10 seems suspiciously high when compared with the other cohorts, the number of cases being small and mainly influenced by the sum of 7000 mentioned to me by Kotahatu Neipani-tomoien in 1970, who had married during this period. Although the sums for those who married in 1931–1940 include some individually high amounts, what is significant is the appearance of sums of 500, 100 and even 50. By the time we reach the cohort of those married in 1941–50, the most frequently mentioned sum is 2500, which continues for the period for those married in 1951–60. This latter group would have been marrying during the period directly following Indonesian Independence. From 1942, the beginning of the Japanese occupation through into the restoration of Dutch rule, there was currency instability and hyperinflation, and with the introduction of the Indonesian rupiah in 1946, devaluation and spiraling inflation between 1959 and 1965. When I arrived in the field at the beginning of 1970 I was shown large quantities of rupiah notes that had been hoarded for marriage-wealth, but which had become worthless. By 1965, 20,000 rupiah could be paid at Mosone's marriage, and by 1990, according to Rosemary Bolton, 500,000 rupiah had become the norm. The value of the rupiah continued to fall after this, being especially influenced by the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997–98, and clearly this is a major factor in interpreting monetary payments made as part of marriage-wealth. Although I have no systematic data on monetary sums paid in recent years, in 2015 Heunaka Neipanitomoien suggested to me that the going rate would now be several million rupiah (roughly, 100 British pounds).

There is an expectation of material transactions in any marriage, even in the case of elopement, though in many cases where it is agreed it is never paid. In 1970 Retaone Soumori had been married through elopement to Mariam Neipanitomoien, the daughter of Kotahatu, for about four years, though he was still expected pay marriage-wealth to Maineu on behalf of the clan Neipani. It was agreed between the two clans that two plates, two pieces of red cloth and 7000 rupiah should be paid, at that time a modest amount. However, Mariam was dead by 1995, and as far as I am aware the payments were never made. In second marriages, marriage-wealth is even more unlikely to be paid, and where it is agreed the amount tends to be more modest and the arrangement pragmatic. Moreover, where there are complications or disagreements about payments, the wife may return temporarily – or sometimes permanently – to her own kin. In the case of Mosone Soumori's first wife, Aharena Sounaue-ainakahata, Komisi

(Mosone's father) had failed to pay her kin the full amount and consequently she returned to her parents for about a month. Negotiations can be long, lasting many years in some cases, and fractious.

The sums initially demanded can be unrealistically high and grandparents especially push for larger payments. Where Nuaulu men marry non-Nuaulu women, the pressure for higher payments may come from expectations based on cultural practices in the homeland of the bride's father, as was the case for the proposed marriage of Lini, the daughter of Eli Tanlai from Flores; or because when a Nuaulu marries a non-Nuaulu there is a risk that the non-Nuaulu partner may leave at any time. In most cases, agreement is eventually reached, though the clans may agree to an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage, with the groom living with and contributing to his wife's parents' household. By contrast, in a ***sou mainae*** marriage, where payment has been made in full, a woman can only visit her parents when they are ill. But in many cases marriage-wealth is never paid, and a marriage never upgraded to ***sou mainae***. If a groom dies before marriage-wealth has been paid, or if payment is incomplete, the debt may be inherited by his younger brother, or in some cases by a son.

Nuaulu marriage-wealth is low compared with that reported for many other eastern Indonesian societies (e.g. Manggarai: Gordon 1980). This reflects a pattern widespread in the central Moluccas, but in the Nuaulu case may also follow from the importance of descent over alliance, though (especially the *adat* component) has almost certainly decreased over the last century. Although Nuaulu marriage-wealth is low compared with some other eastern Indonesian cultural groups, it must be understood in the context of other exchanges that occur at the birth of children: plates from wife-takers to wife-givers, betel-chewing items from wife-givers to wife-takers, and food from wife-takers to wife-givers that returns to wife-takers in the form of feasts: women moving in one direction, against the services of their potential husband's sister's husband, which move in the opposite direction.

Networks of procurement and distribution

Although the monetary component of marriage-wealth has existed no longer than the period Nuaulu have been dwelling on the coast, the pattern of

sourcing and the distribution of marriage-wealth (***susa***) more generally must reflect more enduring ideas. At the highest level, marriage-wealth transactions are regarded as taking place between clans, and the mobilization of valuables and money is a clan rather than a household or sacred house responsibility, as it is clans (not houses) that are the exogamous units. However, it is sacred houses that store and protect valuables, while some valuables and cash payments are sourced and delivered through individuals in specified genealogical relationships. We must therefore distinguish and make sense of the pattern through which the various components of the marriage-wealth are procured from amongst wife-takers, and equally the pattern through which these are distributed amongst wife-givers. Moreover, the process is not a passive one and negotiations among wife-givers about who should receive what and how much (as a kind of repayment for the cost of child-rearing), and amongst wife-takers about who should give what and how much, can be complex and difficult.

Table 6.3 The movement of marriage-wealth payments (***susa***) for the marriage ofNapuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, Rouhua 1970

	Source	*Item*	*Destination*
1	Adoptive father Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata, and clan chief Komisi Soumori	2 medium trade plates, 2000 rupiah	WMB: Surita Matoke-pina
2	Adoptive father Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata	1 medium trade plate 500 rupiah 1 red cloth	WeB: Sekenima Neipani-tomoien
3	Adoptive father Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata	1 medium trade plate 500 rupiah 1 red cloth	WeB: Pisara Neipani-tomoien)
4	Adoptive father Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata	500 rupiah 1 red cloth	Sahukone and Sekenima, eS and yS Saute Neipani-tomoien
5	Adoptive father Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata, and clan chief Komisi Soumori	500 rupiah	WF: Saute Neipani-tomoien)

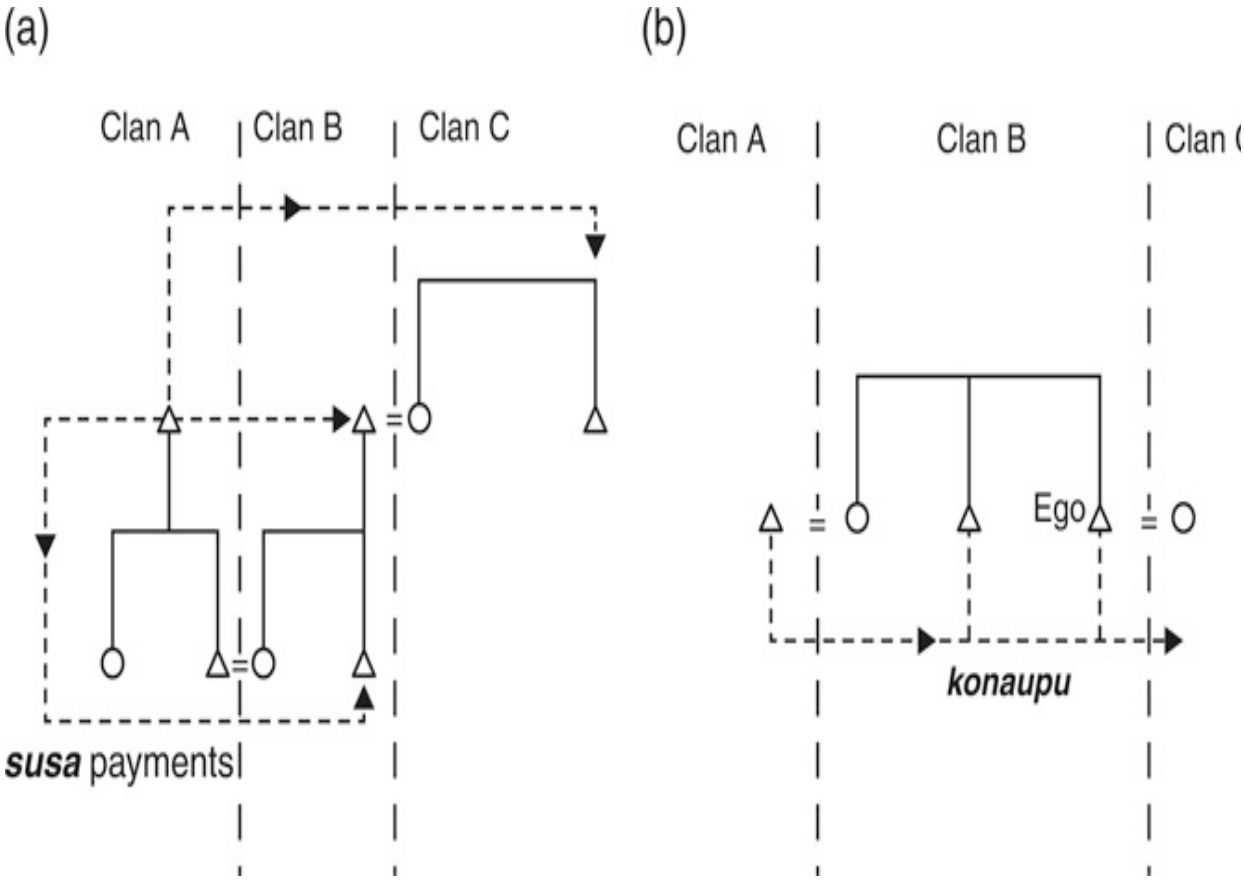


Figure 6.2 Movement of (a) marriage-wealth payments, and (b) the direction of the ***konaupu***: Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, Rouhua 1970.

Amongst wife-takers, in addition to valuables coming from the sacred house, it is sisters and fathers who represent the largest two categories of individual contributors (c.f. Hagen 2006: 139). Amongst wife-givers, parents of the bride, her mother's brother and other aunts and uncles and grandparents may each request items from the groom, including plates, red cloth, money or betel nut. Moreover, red cloth and plates become the property of a bride's parents alone and do not go to a sacred house. Of the money component, if – say – 5000 rupiah (assuming average 1970 amounts) is paid overall, then 3000 may go to the bride's parents and 2000 will be split between her brothers. There is scope for flexibility and negotiation. Table 6.3 and Figure 6.2a illustrate some of the quantities involved and the direction of payment for an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage in 1970 between Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien. This was an unusual marriage, because Napuae had been orphaned at birth and brought up by Hatarai Sounaue-ainakahata and his wife, so for the purposes of marriage Hatarai contributed to the marriage-wealth together with Komisi Soumori, the clan chief and guardian of

Napuae's sacred house. In addition to the quantities set out in Table 6.3, an unspecified amount of betel nut was presented in the pouch of the groom, not strictly part of the ***susa***, but a gift to Siloo's father, Saute Neipani-tomoien, to be consumed during the marriage festivities.

To procure marriage-wealth, the eldest brother of the bride has to prepare the first gift, called the 'eldest gift' ***susai manonte***, while the youngest brother prepares the ***susa wani,*** literally the gift of the same sex younger sibling. For the marriage of Naya Peinisa and Marpati Sounaue mentioned earlier, Naya himself procured the 'first gift', ***susai ina***, and his sister procured the 'second gift', ***susai ua***. The 'eldest gift' moves (mountainward) to the ancestor of Rahie's mother, and the 'youngest gift' (also mountainward) to Rahie's father's ancestor; 'gift one' moves (seaward) to the sacred house of Rahie's mother's brother and 'gift two' (also seaward) to Rahie's father. Whereas the ***susai ina*** and ***susai ua*** go to individual living persons (the bride's father and her mother's brother), the ***susa manonte*** and ***susa wani*** go to the male and female ancestral spirits of the affinally linked clans, in the first case in exchange for services rendered and in the second as compensation for the movement of the woman. Moreover, the particulars of these transactions will be affected by genealogical reality: whether the husband has a sister or, say, a younger brother, or whether the bride has a living genealogical mother's brother. In cases where a specific genealogical relative is unavailable, a classificatory relative may be selected or the transactions combined. An example of these distinctions is provided by Tongli (1994: 243) in his account of the marriage of Naya Peinisa to Rahie Kamama in Simalouw in 1990 (Figure 6.3).

Where a bride has an older unmarried or widowed brother, he may request ***sani***. If a groom has younger married sisters, then their husbands must pay a gift, amounting to a small sum of money (usually in the region of 1000 or 2000 rupiah in 1970, but around 100,000 to 200,000 by 1990), a porcelain plate and one piece of red cloth. This also means that the younger sisters must continue to work for their elder brother periodically, cooking and collecting food.

As we have already noted, ***konaupu*** (marriage service, but literally the 'gift to the ancestors') is a feature of both ***sou mainae*** and ***iae nisi pina*** marriage, and the term is often used interchangeably for the latter kind of marriage. When the clans involved have more-or-less agreed the terms of the various payments to be made, and the quantities of valuables required have been identified, the prospective husband, together with his adult clan

brothers and his elder sister's husband must undertake the ***konaupu*** in the strict sense (Figure 6.2b). The prominence of the groom's sister's husband in this is explained by the fact that having taken his wife from the clan of the groom, he is now regarded as being in debt to his wife's clan, and for this reason it is seen as a kind of repayment.

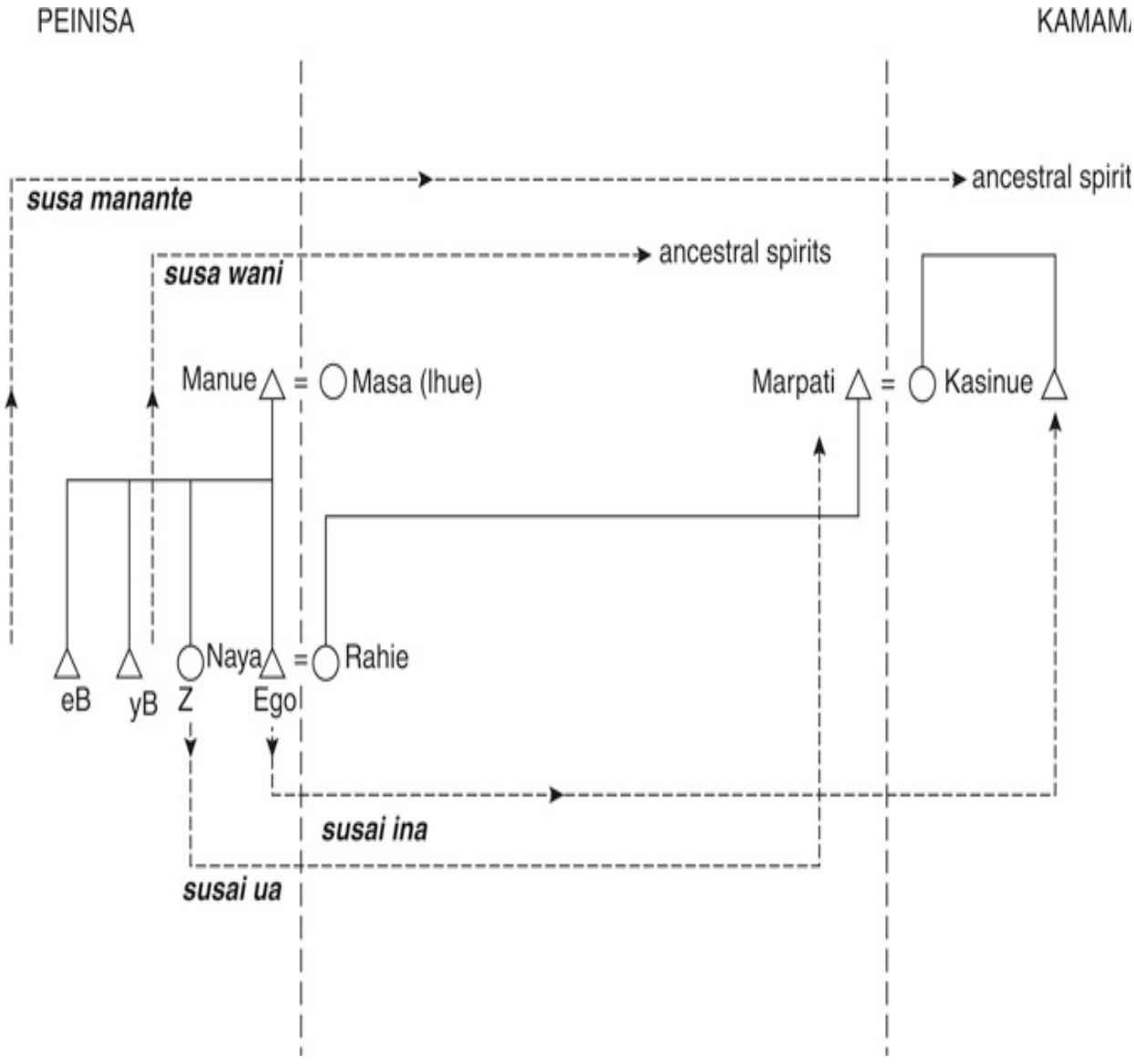


Figure 6.3 Direction of marriage-wealth payments (***susa***) in the marriage of Naya Peinisa and Rahie Sounaue-ainakahata, Simalouw 1990 (Tongli 1994: 243).

The ***konaupu*** itself involves collecting a large quantity of sago flour from palms belonging to the groom's clan, hunting for meat,[7] usually that of the marsupial cuscus, collecting *dammar* resin (used for torches) from deep in the forest and also quantities of betel-chewing requisites. The size of the

konaupu, which must be carried by the groom's sister's husband alone to the village, is a matter of some prestige. An ***mpiae*** (sago flour) ***konaupu*** which I observed being brought into the village of Rouhua in 1970 (Figure 6.4) consisted of the following:

2 large casks of sago flour, amounting to 40 kg damp weight
5 cuscus (split down the middle, gutted and pre-roasted)
10 sticks of crushed and prepared *dammar* resin
plus an indefinite quantity of betel nut, betel pepper and mineral lime prepared from freshwater shellfish.

In addition to ***susa*** and ***konaupu***, there are other gifts, not strictly part of the marriage-wealth, but which are nevertheless customary. The betel given to the father of the bride is one such example. Another is that which the parents of the groom must give the bride (a red ***papite*** or (AM *kebaya*, a short decorative jacket worn by women), a stem of betel nut fruits and three ***nipae*** (AM *kain wanita*, female cloth wraps, usually batik). Further, girls entering the clan Soumori are presented with a hand towel, additional cloth and a conical ***nasa*** hat by the groom's clan, in accordance with the Soumori taboo on women leaving their head bare outside the dwelling. However, this transaction may often be delayed, in some cases by many years.

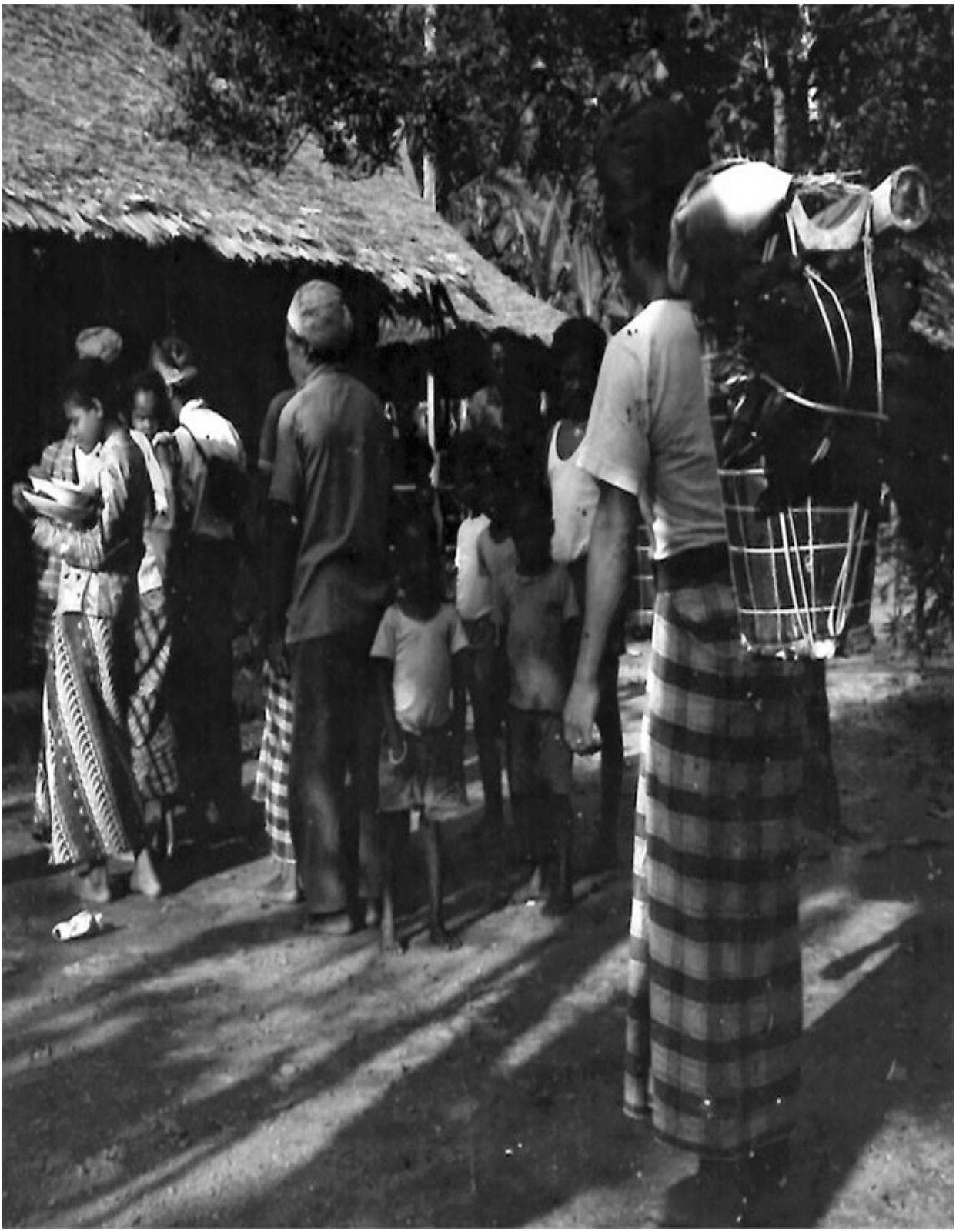


Figure 6.4 Wedding of Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien in Rouhua, September 1970: groom's party entering the sacred house of the bride after walking from that of the groom. Note ***mpiae konaupu***, 'marriage service sago', carried on a ***hahanane*** or shoulder pole loaded with other food.

Finally, there are the reciprocal payments from the kin of the bride to the kin of the groom. The first and main transaction is that of the woman herself. Within the context of the wedding ceremony, ***ataone*** gifts are given to the wife-takers, and the ceremony itself is followed in the evening by a feast given by the bride's clan for the kin of the groom. A few days, or sometimes weeks, later, reciprocal gifts are given by the mother's brother of the bride, accompanied by a further feast. Other reciprocal gifts given by the parents of the bride to the married brothers of the groom, usually presented at the birth ritual of the first child of the union, may sometimes be included at the time of the marriage. The precise contents of this transaction vary, but it is generally made up as follows: five small bracelets, five large bracelets and five small plates. However, at times the number of small plates may reach as many as 20 and the gift may contain other items, such as rings.

Marriage as an event

It is now necessary to put the various marriage transactions in a narrative perspective. While the actual ritual of marriage is relatively perfunctory and in essence consists of the sealing of the contract by the mutual exchange of gifts; as Fox (1980a: 3) notes for eastern Indonesian societies more generally, the symbolism provides 'the pivot' in a comprehensive organization of society and cosmos. In the Nuaulu case the marriage ritual is a demonstration of the linkages between in the first instance two clans, and within those two clans, of two sacred houses, the joining of the first being necessary to biologically reproduce the patriline, the joining of the second being necessary to socially reproduce the relationship between the living and their ancestors through the mediation of physical things through which the latter live. The description provided here is an amalgamated and simplified outline drawn from my own notes and unpublished accounts by Rosemary Bolton (1997 a) and Urbanus Tongli (1994), who separately provide much more detail. Much of the ethnographic content of ceremonies themselves, including symbolic aspects, is omitted. There is considerable variation in practice, partly arising from customary differences between clans, but also depending on the circumstances and resources of individual couples.

Preparations for a wedding (***aisene, ausaha***) effectively begin once wife-takers have started to mobilize gifts for the wife-givers, rather than just talking about them. Where it is anticipated that there might be a delay, as commonly occurs because of difficulties in scheduling time for various rituals, which often have to follow in a particular order, a kind of deposit may be paid: ***soko kanai kam***. This is literally the 'betel quid tie' but is in fact a down payment on the marriage-wealth, presented on behalf of the groom by his sisters. The components vary but might comprise, say, a porcelain plate, some clothing, including a red sarong, towel and soap, as well as betel-chewing requisites and a knife, all placed in a basket. At this time the potential bride cooks for her in-laws, presents them with betel quid platters to seal the transaction, and the union may be consummated shortly afterwards if it has not already been so. The subsequent arrangements differ slightly between clans, and depending on whether the marriage is ***sou mainae*** or ***iae nisi pina***. In the case of an elopement, a ceremony may be held where payments can be agreed, in which case the union effectively becomes ***sou mainae*** or ***iae nisi pina***.

In both ***sou mainae*** and ***iae nisi pina*** variants, the wedding day begins with wife-takers and wife-givers assembling in their respective sacred houses. The wife-takers gather together the components of the marriage-wealth (***hunonini, susa*** and ***sani***), plus other small items of female personal grooming. A request for ***hunonini*** is rare as this restricts future parental contact with a bride and exchange between allied clans, and mainly occurs where a woman marries a non-Nuaulu. The money and red cloth are placed on porcelain plates that are then wrapped in a red cloth. There are optional gifts for others among the bride's kin. Sometimes these are voluntary and sometimes requested. For example, there is the ***nipa popotou*** given to the bride's mother in acknowledgment of the breast milk she provided for the bride (***susu hunonini***) and of the urine that saturated her mother's sarong. There is also the ***sakaenate hunonini***. A ***sakaenate*** is the twisted vine device used when climbing trees to hunt cuscus, but here refers to compensation paid to a bride's father in acknowledgment of his contribution to provisioning her while she was growing up. In addition, the groom places some of the toiletries collected from various relatives (the ***manonte***) in a porcelain dish for females from the wife-giving clan who will cook a reciprocal feast later in the evening.

The wife-takers process with the gifts to the sacred house of the wife-givers, led by the messenger, then the groom, then the messenger's wife.

Other women of the wife-taking clan carry the prestations, followed by men of the clan who have taken wives from the groom's clan, and who carry the ***mpiae konaupu***. The groom also carries some of the money in his betel pouch, which will usually have been requested by one of the bride's brothers, while he wears several sarongs and shorts that are later given to wife-givers who have requested them. Once everybody is seated, speeches are made by the messenger (who is master-of-ceremonies, and cautions all present to be polite), the heads of the bride's sacred houses, her parents and mother's brother (who advise on best marital practice). Each of the wife-takers receives a small plate with betel and tobacco, and later two other plates, all collectively known as the ***atoane***. The groom receives three large ***aratae*** plates, one with betel.

After the groom's kin have visited the bride's sacred house with these items, the wife-giving women withdraw to prepare the wedding feast. The bride, who like the groom wears several layers of clothing, moves to the sacred house of the groom, where she distributes them to wife-taking kin who might have requested them. It is here the clan chief introduces the bride to the clan's ancestral spirits, who he invokes to protect her (***apusaa nuhune***). A woven textile or red sarong is then pushed forward five times and handed to the bride, and the same is done for a red *kebaya*.

In the evening follows a feast prepared by the wife-givers with food previously gathered by the groom. The prepared food is then consumed by the wife-taking clan in their sacred house, some being given specifically to the groom's parents, the messenger and the persons providing money for the groom's betel pouch. Additional plates are given to wife-givers who have cooked the food and by the bride's parents or her brother. The wife-takers also give between five and 10 bowls (***isikotol***) to each of the wife-givers, in exchange for the food, most being given to the bride's parents. The wife-givers do not partake of it. The proceedings end with the newlyweds spending some nights at the house of the bride's parents to honour them, irrespective of whether or not they have entered an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage.

Some of these general features can be seen in my notes on the marriage between Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, which took place in Rouhua during 1970.

Case 6.3: Napuae Soumori and Siloo Neipani-tomoien, Rouhua, September 1970

Napuae arrived back from the Upa valley about mid-morning with the ***mpiae konaupu***. He was accompanied by Waenisa, Anarima, Mosone and Nepenama. Waenisa carried most of the burden – two very large casks of sago, five marsupial cuscus (split down the middle and pre-roasted), betel nut, betel pepper and mineral lime, and 10 sticks of *dammar* resin. The size of the sago casks is an important indicator of prestige, and Napuae's were considered exceptionally large. From the time Napuae entered the village with the sago – the ***mpiae konaupu*** (sometimes just shortened to ***konaupu***) – the marriage is effectively recognized, requiring that from now on he be addressed as ***msaha*** Neipani and Siloo as ***pina-Soumori***, rather than by using personal names. These modes of address continue until the birth of their first child, when teknonyms are adopted. This is also the point when the taboos of the husband's clan become obligatory for the bride.

The day and time at which the groom's party return with the ***mpiae konaupu*** determines the day of the ceremony. Although usually absent for about 10 days, this is never certain and occasionally considerable inconvenience is caused by the absence of a vital kinsman on the day of the marriage. On this occasion it was an indication of the on-the-spot preparations and unexpectedness of the wedding that Sekenima – Siloo's elder brother and an essential participant – had to be called by Saute from his garden on the river Mon. Meanwhile, the returning ***konaupu*** party adjourn to the Soumori clan ritual house and preparations for presenting the marriage-wealth begin. The groom is attired for the first time in an ***ahutu Sepa*** head scarf. This differs from the one he received at his puberty ceremony in being larger, tied in a different manner, and of a patterned batik fabric rather than red. Considerable attention is paid to fitting this, down to the cutting of stray protruding hair from around his temples. Napuae also wears a barkcloth, a red ***karanunu*** over his loins, then a batik cloth and on top of all this wore a sarong. He carries a large betel pouch and *parang*. The barkcloth and red ***karanunu*** are those the groom received at the time of his puberty ceremony. Napuae stays in the Soumori clan house, except for a brief visit to the house of Hatarai Sounaue, his adoptive father. Here he eats, together with the other members of the ***konaupu*** party. Meanwhile in the house of the bride's father, Saute Neipani, Siloo is preparing herself, assisted by her kinswomen – Pereela Neipani, Wanto Matoke, the wife of Sekenima Neipani, Rahie Peinisa, the wife of Sahukone, and Huamasa Sounaue, the wife of Konane, the Neipani clan chief.

Assembling in the Soumori sacred house are Napuae's significant male others, from Soumori (Komisi, Soine, Mosone, Retaone), Komisi's relatives from Yalahatan, and others from Napuae's adoptive clan Sounaue (including Hatarai and Waenisa), plus all their wives and children. Last minute discussions are taking place about marriage-wealth, and the practicalities of delivering items from various kin. Even at this late stage the exact items and quantities may be altered, and in this particular case increased a little to avoid complaints of stinginess from the bride's kin. These deliberations were still going on when news arrived that Sekenima Sounaue had returned from the garden and that the bride was ready. A further delay had been caused by the need to repair the ladder into the Soumori sacred house so as to take the weight of the ***mpiae kopaupu***. Once messengers have established that both the party of the bride and that of the groom are ready, the groom's party departs by the mountain door and processes to the sacred house of the bride led by the eldest sister of clan chief Komisi. Were she herself to be marrying, the procession would be led

by the younger brother of the clan chief. The party makes its way to the seaward door of the bride's sacred house, led by the eldest son of the Soumori clan chief followed by the groom (Napuae) carrying a *parang* and betel pouch, who is in turn followed by his adoptive adult sister (Unsa Sounaue) carrying the marriage-wealth valuables. Finally comes the groom's sister's husband (Waenisa Sounaue) carrying the ***mpiae konaupu***, his parents and the clan chief. At the door of the bride's sacred house Mosone announces that the groom's party has arrived. As soon as the bride's elder brother has requested the party to enter, they do so, and take their prescribed places inside. A large mat (***kin onate***) is spread out on the house platform for the guests and a smaller mat (***kin ikine***) placed at the rear of the bridal couple.

Siloo wears two sarongs and two *kebaya* and sits demurely with her face down, her hands clasped and her legs folded to one side. If there are only a few female siblings – indicating that few 'dominant' alliances can be made – this impacts on the value of the woman in the transaction. If there are many sisters only one sarong and *kebaya* are worn. To begin with the bride's kin do not eat, out of respect. The groom sits cross-legged, Napuae eats, but his wife eats only later, quietly holding a towel while others converse, and does not chew betel or talk for the first hour. The marriage-wealth (with red cloth and money inside the plates) is arranged in front of the bride, and the ***mpiae konaupu*** placed to one side of the house. The elder brothers of the bride and her father's brothers offer betel and smoking requisites to the groom's kinsmen and the ceremony gradually begins to acquire a more informal flavour. Siloo is allowed to eat, talk and chew betel towards the end of the feast.

During mid-morning a party comprising kin of both Napuae and Siloo walk from the bride's house to that of the bride's mother's brother (Surita), entering by the seaward door. Saute (Siloo's father) presents two plates to Surita (one of which had to be changed, as Surita thought it too cracked), together with two ***karanunu*** (one red and one batik) and 2000 rupiah. A number of small and medium plates are brought in and presented to Napuae (including a rather larger and older plate than the rest), Anarima (his adopted brother), Unsa (his adopted younger sister), and Saete (youngest son of Komisi, representing the Soumori clan chief). Napuae is offered betel.

The day concludes with a feast given by Siloo's kin for the kin of Napuae. Hatarai and Komisi are present, with a number of close kin of both bride and groom, but without Siloo's mother's brother and his kin. Siloo serves sago porridge for the first time. This usually finalizes the formal aspect of the marriage ceremony.

The only difference between the ceremonial aspects of a ***so mainae*** and an ***iae nisi pina*** union is that in the former the bride returns with her husband to his house, while in the latter the husband remains with the wife's kin. The ceremony for an ***iae nisi pina*** marriage is a simplified version of that for ***sou mainae***, and takes place in the sacred house of the husband's clan. The bride is helped to dress in an ordinary house. The groom's sister and sister-in-law watch, bringing gifts for the bride: sarongs, soap and perhaps other items. Once dressed, they are escorted to the sacred house. There the husband presents some marriage-wealth, for example two porcelain plates and one meter of red cloth. They receive advice from the clan leader and wife's mother. Other guests are mostly from the husband's clan. The couple are

then escorted to the house of the bride's parents where her father and mother's brother await them. Betel is chewed and the bride's mother's brother gives advice. There is a feast the following evening in the clan sacred house for both husband and wife's relatives provided by the bride's family.

The marriage nexus

While marriage is focally about relations between two clans, the coordination required is between three clans: that of the groom, that of the bride and that of the bride's mother's brother, in order of decreasing relative subordination by precedence. In the case of Napuae and Siloo just described, these clans were Soumori, Neipani-tomoien and Matoke-pina, each of which show a relationship of relative precedence between the kin groups of the bride (***hanahanai***) and groom (***tanaite***) and particularly the two sets of parents-in-law. Relative superiority and subordination is demonstrated by the terms used to refer to the bride during the ceremony. Whenever the bride's sacred house is mentioned, it is described as being upstream (***suria***, i.e. superior and the place of judgment after death), even if geographically the house is not upstream, while the wife-taker's group is referred to as downstream (***sunau***). Where a man marries a (classificatory) mother's brother's daughter, the marriage will still involve three clans, but where sister-exchange has taken place there will be just two clans, as the WMB will be in the same clan as the husband's father in classificatory terms, and the same person if there is genealogical identity. In this instance the return payment is within the same clan as the husband, though possibly in different sacred houses. This bundle of relations and exchanges connecting clans and sacred houses emanating from a particular marital event, we might call 'the marriage nexus'.

In a ***sou mainae*** marriage the bride is installed in the bridegroom's sacred house as a ***hanahanai*** of this group and her main duty is to help her husband exercise his function in sacred house ritual, to cook food for the ancestral feasts of the house, to biologically reproduce her husband's patriline, sacred house and clan, and to be the vehicle through which spirits are returned to a sacred house through the creation of new children; thus social reproduction

underpins biological reproduction and the two are in effect consubstantial. This part of the marriage ritual installs the bride in a relationship with her husband's ancestors (***apusaa nuhune***). In much the same way, the groom is installed in the bride's sacred house as a ***tanaite***, and as an outsider his role is to procure whatever is needed for a feast to honour the ancestors of her clan through ***konaupu***. Although sometimes represented as a service to living affines, ***konaupu*** is simultaneously a service to the ancestors of the bride's clan.

Women are not considered sufficiently part of a husband's clan until marriage-wealth has been fully paid, and other rituals of incorporation performed, such as that for the clan Soumori in which incoming women receive conical hats from the clan chief. Until this time they continue to be subject to the prohibitions of their natal clan, and indeed both husband and wife may often be subject to the taboos emanating from both their clans. The event of marriage, therefore, involves only the first of a series of ritual exchanges between clans in alliance as wife-givers and wife-takers. However, despite the transactions a woman is never totally absorbed into her husband's clan, even with a ***sou mainae*** marriage, and retains a commitment to the interests of her natal clan. Further, if marriage-wealth is not paid immediately, as is not infrequently the case, especially in an elopement, she remains subject to the ritual restrictions imposed by her father's clan – for example – dietary and other taboos. Sometimes the marriage-wealth by itself is insufficient to lift a restriction. For example, to lift a taboo on the eating of snakes by women from the clans Soumori and Sopanani a gift of a plate made of a particular type of red porcelain is necessary.

What this chapter has established is that although clans and households seek to stabilize marriage and alliances through contracts underpinned by the payment of marriage-wealth, and through the rituals of the wedding ceremony, marriage is almost always potentially unstable, and is subject to continuous ritual work. This is apparent in the sheer number and complexity of exchanges of plates and other items in the most elaborate of marriage events, and the parties involved seek to ensure mutual goodwill. A wife is – as it were – a gift of her brother's clan and a guest in her husband's clan, where her presence is a potential threat to its integrity. But this instability has little connection with the frequency of divorce – which as we shall see in Chapter 8 is surprisingly low – or with the personal relations between husband and wife, but rather arises through structural tensions between clans that seem to always pull them apart.

Notes

1 On the basis of her data for Rouhua, Bolton (1997b: 72) puts ***sou mainae*** marriages at 14 percent, a figure that is consistent with this upward trend.

2 Bolton (1997b: 72) provides a figure of 34 percent for marriage by elopement in Rouhua. It may be that marriages initiated as elopement in her sample were upgraded later, or it may be that some are being described as ***sukarua***.

3 For a somewhat different cultural construction of the same distinction in another Moluccan society, see Pauwels (1994: 87).

4 ***Hanainae*** refers specifically to the most sacred porcelain plates, either red (***msinae***) or blue-green (***marae***), the first term indicating that the plates have red or dark colour in them (generally indicating European origin), the second alluding to the translucent pale greenware typical of Chinese celadon vessels. Within these two broad categories Nuaulu distinguish particular types, such as ***sana mon*** (a large bowl). However, other types of glazed ceramic objects may be described in this way, such as ***hansahae*** (a cup), ***koinanae*** or ***moko*** (a small bowl), ***piru tunne*** (a decorated plate), ***piru anae*** (saucer), ***pasi*** or ***pasi anae*** (a lidded dish), ***isikotol*** (large bowl) or ***papuae tunne*** (a plate used specifically for betel requisites). In addition to Chinese porcelain, many plates and other glazed items are of Portuguese, sometimes Japanese, English and Dutch origin.

5 The quantities of plates and gongs described as ***arata monne***, and stored in the lofts of four sacred houses (all ***numa onate***) in Rouhua in November 1970 was as follows: Sounaue-ainakahata: 2 large plates, 4 small plates, 10 bowls; Peinisa: 23 plates, 2 large plates, 1 cup, 1 bowl, 1 gong; Matoke-pina: 1 gong, 1 cup, 3 large plates, 15 plates, 5 bowls, 1 ***unene*** (k.o. pot); Neipani-tomoien: 3 gongs, 1 cup, 7 plates.

6 Although money payments have become widespread throughout Seram, there are still places where it is insignificant, for example amongst the Maneo, who according to Hagen (2006: 85, 135) are on the whole reluctant to substitute other items (such as money or clove orchards) for traditional valuables.

7 It is said that formerly the groom had to take a head as part of the ***konaupu***, but this has been replaced by the provision of meat, usually pig or deer.

7
Marriage 2

Matrilaterality, bilaterality and alliance

Marriage between genealogical and classificatory cross-cousins

Nuaulu often say that they value marriage alliances that are symmetrical, and which thus accord with the model outlined at the beginning of this monograph. Not only may you marry any classificatory cross-cousin, but marriages into a mother's clan or in which sisters are exchanged are particularly esteemed. If you are marrying cross-cousins consistently you are therefore systematically marrying affines, and 'returning to the mother' (***neneuni inai totui***). In practice, this means that all classificatory siblings not of ego's own clan are available, but this does not alter the fact that the Nuaulu terminology seems to predict that you should be marrying a person referred to using the term for MBD or FZS (***makae***), FZD or MBS (***hota makakae***), and to a lesser extent those for whom they use the terms for MZD and MZS (***hota***). It is not a proscription on marrying anyone who is not ***sau monne***. While marriage with a genealogical MBD is generally thought to be 'too close' (Bolton 1997b: 90), it is quite permissible to marry an MBD if a mother and brother had different parents, or to marry a collateral MBD, such as MFBSD or MMBSD referred to as ***hota makakae***. However, marriage with matrilateral cross-cousins is more common than any of these forms so far described. Marriages outside these categories that are not formally proscribed – if you like, 'ordinary' marriages – are called rather ***ihotai***, and we have considered the frequency and variation of these in Chapter 6. As we

noted in Chapter 1, a system in which relationship terminology is consistent with bilateral cross-cousin marriage, but where actual marriage practices predominantly involve matrilateral cross-cousins is globally quite widespread (Parkin 1997: 79), and especially in eastern Indonesia where we have examples such as the Ata Tana ‘Ai of Flores (Fox 1988).[1] But even where it isn’t, marriages in one direction can be reversed later, even within the same generation, as amongst the Ema of Timor (Clamagirand 1980).

Of the 257 marriages reported for males in the Nuaulu kinship corpus, 34 were with a woman from the same clan as the husband’s mother (13 percent), most of which are with classificatory cross-cousins rather than genealogical cross-cousins (***makae susu*** or ***hota susu***), with a possible numerical tendency towards MBD marriage. In some of these cases the match is a deliberate alliance strategy, the outcome of unstated expectations and up-front negotiation. Mosone Soumori, Hotena Neipani-tomoien and Napuae Soumori all married ***nemakae susu***. However, in some cases, the fact that men end up marrying a classificatory cross-cousin is simply the outcome of the limited number of clans available and the personal preferences of those involved, as in a ***sukarua*** love match. This is, for example, how we might interpret the cases of many second spouses. Of the 257 marriages reported for females in the Nuaulu kinship corpus, more-or-less the same were with men from the same clan as the husband’s mother (13 percent). Again, we can assume that most of these are with classificatory rather than genealogical cross-cousins. Where a female marries her FZS, the clan of her ZH and FZH are the same, as are the clan of the female ego’s father and her husband’s mother. However, my genealogical data are insufficiently robust to provide comparable figures and percentages.[2]

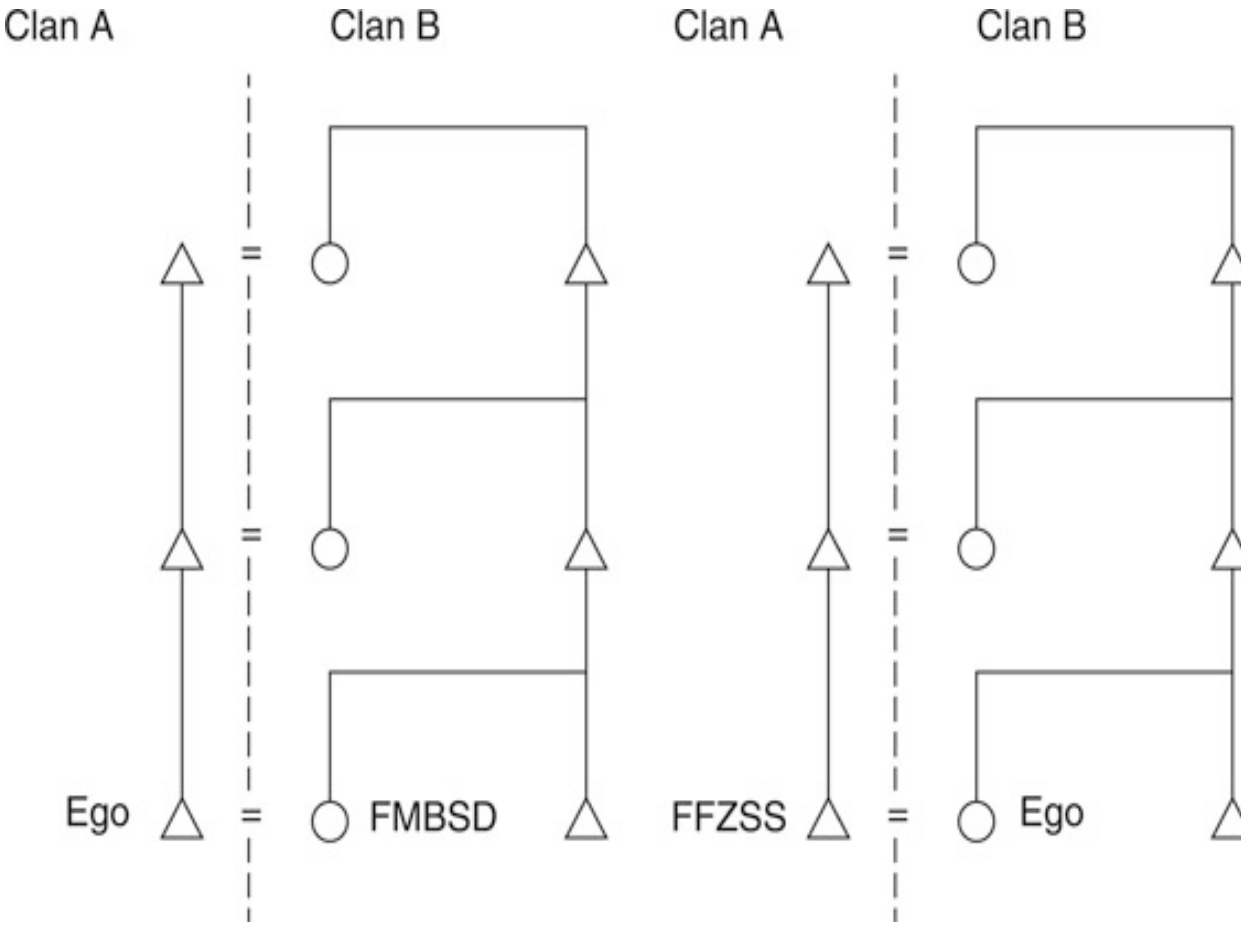


Figure 7.1 Marriage with a FMBSD as an example of ***hota usa wenue*** (‘fire smoke siblings’).

Marriage with a cross-cousin in successive repeated generations (such as a FMBSD or FFZSS) is even more valued, and is described as ***makae usa wenue*** or ***hota usa wenue***, alluding to the idea that strong alliances wind through the generations as smoke (lit. ‘fire necklace’) curls up from a fire (Figure 7.1). This allusion is of particular interest since the metaphor is clearly one emphasizing descent and lineality at the expense of lateral links. It contrasts, therefore, with the way in which affinity and marriage alliance is described for some other societies of eastern Indonesia exhibiting matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, for example the ‘rows’ and ‘pathways’ that Susan McKinnon (1991: 124) speaks of in relation to Tanimbar (see also Allerton 2004; Barnes 1974: 246; Barraud 1990: 214; Fox 1980b; Traube 1986: 81), imagery which as far as I can see is absent in Nuaulu discourse on marriage. In fact, the main metaphorical idiom is of movement ‘backwards’ and ‘forwards’ between (elder) and (younger) houses and clans, emphasizing much more the mutual constitution of dwelling (Traube 1986: 73). While the idea of ceremonial practice as spatial movement and sequences of practical

action situated in a landscape is crucial to the understanding of Nuaulu ritual in general terms, marriage rituals – though displaying such movements – are characteristically minimal and local, as demonstrated in the previous chapter (cf. Allerton 2004: 340).

The problems of distinguishing type of marriage discussed in the previous chapter, and especially in relation to the numbers provided in Table 6.1, are only compounded when the data are separated out in terms of the pre-existing kinship relationship between bride and groom, which indicates either a preferred alliance, some other acceptable relationship with a Nuaulu clan, a technically proscribed relationship with another Nuaulu clan, or marriage with non-Nuaulu. On the basis of what I have said so far, we should perhaps expect a strong correlation between ***sou mainae*** and marriage between cross-cousins, and especially where a male individual is the son of a head of a sacred house, then we would also expect the marriage to entail lengthy negotiation and exchange of valuables, and to be between a male ego and a woman from his maternal clan, or a female ego and a man from the clan of her father's sister's husband.

In Table 6.1 the numbers summarized for ***sou mainae*** marriages where a wife has come from the maternal clan may be underestimated because the data are incomplete. Also, in some cases where a male has married a woman from his mother's clan, but not her named local sub-clan, it is difficult to know whether these are regarded as classificatory repeat marriages where kinship terminology is used. For example, Saite Matoke-pina married Rairai Neipani-tomoien, although his maternal clan is Neipani-nesinopu. Similarly, Heunaka Sounaue-ainakahata married Salome Neipani-nesinopu, although his maternal clan was Neipanitomoien; and Sahune Sopanani-putie married Rahie Neipani-nesinopu, though his maternal clan was Neipani-tomoien. Where I have data on the local sub-clan of a wife, but not of a mother, these cases tend not to include them as repeat marriages. Where serial marriage partners are taken from the same maternal clan, the alliance between the two clans concerned is reinforced. For example, both the first wife (Nunuputih) and the second wife (Paletu) of Seipati Soumori came from his maternal clan, Neipani-tomoien.

Unilaterality and bilaterality in practice

In Chapter 6 we examined the material flows that take place between clans at the time of, and subsequent to, a marriage event. Some cycles of ***aratae*** transactions involve three or more clans, but such cycles are almost always 'open' rather than closed, with other clans being involved (as in the case of Manggarai in west Flores: Gordon 1980: 65). This is contrary to Needham's (1966) interpretation, who – following Van Wouden – argues for the logical existence of closed circles. Needham suggests that terminology in Manggarai is symmetric while marriage practices are asymmetric, though Gordon (1980: 51–3) disagrees, claiming that only the first ascending and descending levels are symmetric. Lewis (1988) provides another, better attested, example of symmetric terminology with asymmetric marriage, for the Ata Tana 'Ai of Flores, as does Molnar (2000: 24) for the Hoga Sara of Flores. But most ethnographic accounts for the region have in the past suggested less ambiguous patterns, where asymmetric marriage alliance is strongly endorsed and linked to cycles of three or four intermarrying groups (e.g. Rindi, Sumba: Forth 1981: 409, 412; Ema, Timor: Renard-Clamagirand 1982; Mamboru, Sumba: Needham 1987: 167). However, this does not prevent on occasions reversing the direction of the movement of women (e.g. Rindi, Sumba: Forth 1981: 105), while in other circumstances the presence of asymmetric marriage alliance seems to occur without cycles of three or more groups (Wanokaka, Sumba: Gunawan 2000: 125, 150).

As we have seen above, and as I argued in Chapter 5, there are a number of indicative equations that we can infer from Nuaulu relationship terminology that are consistent with the model of bilateral cross-cousin marriage presented in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.6). However, as Barnard and Good (1984: 98–9) have pointed out in their critique of Lévi-Strauss, 'systems in which every male marries his MBD, FZD, or bilateral cross-cousins, are impossible demographically'. And as we have seen here, the evidence of a basic census that I conducted in 1971 suggests that very few Nuaulu in fact marry a person who is genealogically a bilateral cross-cousin (Table 6.1), while the practice is seldom perpetuated over more than a few generations. In other words, there are relatively few repeat marriages in succeeding generations. However, while few people marry their genealogical bilateral cross-cousin, a significant number do marry someone else from the same clan as their mother, thus perpetuating exchange between clans over a number of generations. If we look at individual genealogies, we can begin to get some idea of the complexity. In particular, there is some evidence that those most likely to marry someone they describe with the term for cross-

cousin are the eldest sons of clan chiefs or ***kapitane***, and that ***makae***, or 'strong' alliances with the clan of a spouse are, in practice, more pronounced in the marriages of heads of sacred houses. Thus, if we look at the genealogy collected initially from Komisi, clan chief of Soumori in 1971 (Figure 7.2), we can see that both Komisi himself and his father were eldest sons, and that both, together with Komisi's eldest son, have all married women from the clan Sounaue-ainakahata. Moreover, Sirusou, Mosone's eldest son who will succeed him as ***ia onate*** Soumori, has also married into Sounaue-ainakahata. This pattern of marriage in the senior patriline can be traced back at least six generations from the present (Figure 3.1). However, all other marriages in the [extended] genealogy show no particular pattern and no obvious symmetry, and indeed suggest marriages with at least seven other different clans.

If we look at the data on marital links for other clan chiefs, we find a similar pattern (Figure 7.3). In each of the four cases there are repeat marriages into the same clan, though not much evidence for anything more systematic than this. Thus, it would appear that the central principle of exchange between two reciprocating clans is sufficiently maintained through marriages forged by eldest sons of the clan chief. This in turn is sufficient to maintain the practices of ritual reciprocity between clans and between houses. It would also appear that it is only necessary to maintain this practice in the house of the clan chief rather than that of the ***kapitane*** as well.

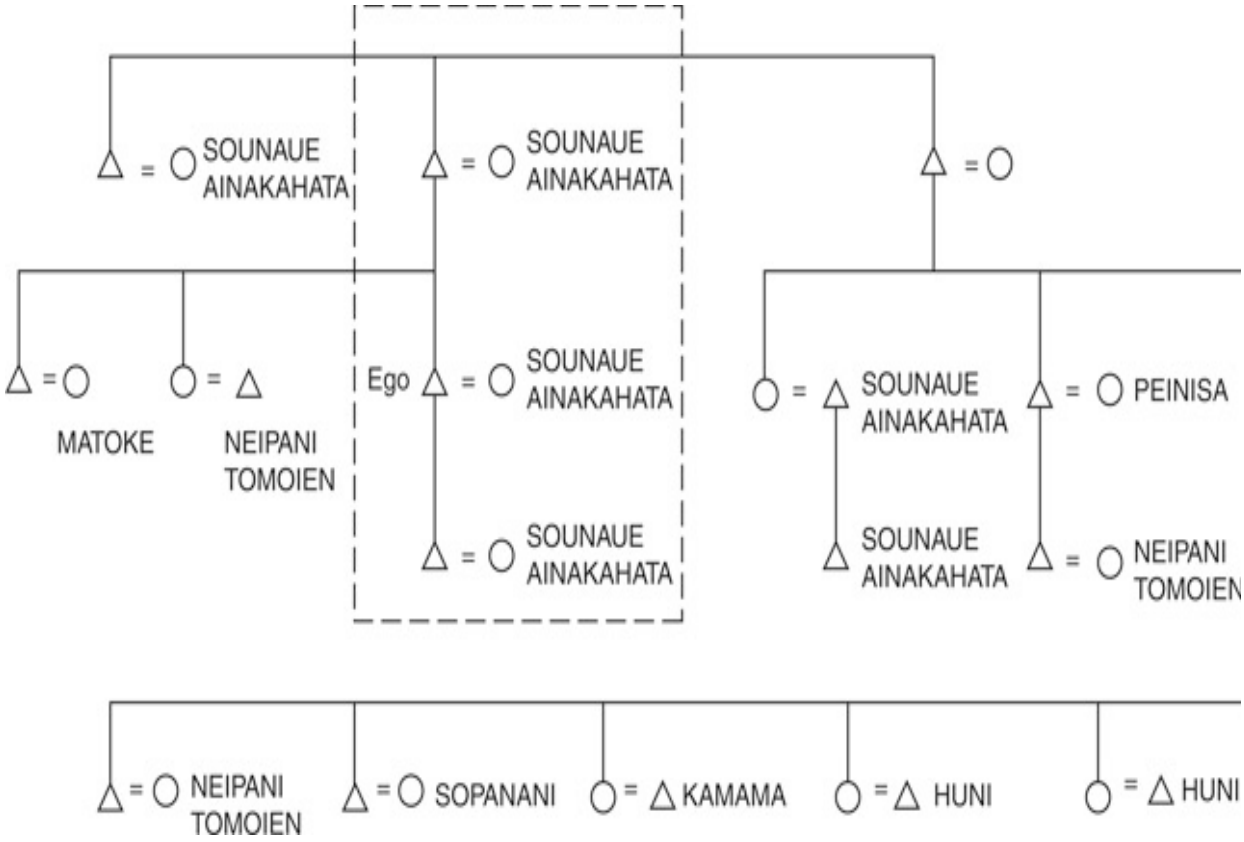


Figure 7.2 A genealogy of some of the close consanguines of Komisi Soumori, showing marital links as of 1971.

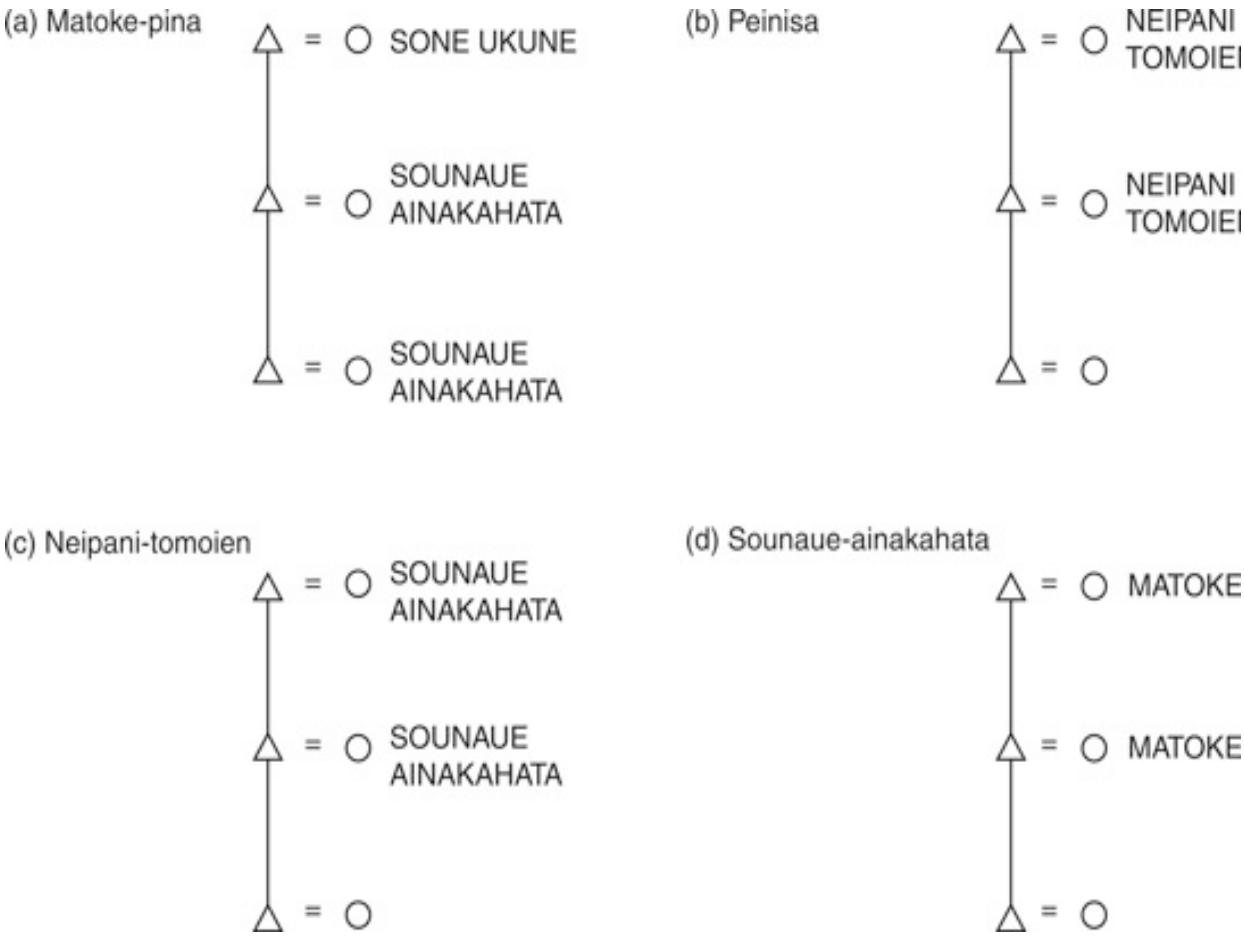


Figure 7.3 Marriage alliances for clan chiefs other than Soumori in Rouhua: (a) Matokepina, (b) Peinisa, (c) Neipani-tomoien, and (d) Sounaue-ainakahata. Data collected.

Such a pattern leaves freedom for most clan members to contract marriages where there is no particular expectation of the alliance being repeated. It permits wider alliances (important politically, and in terms of labour recruitment for key rituals and economic activities), and also mobilization of valuables and material resources across clans. However, given that most marriages in Rouhua are endogamous to the village (Table 7.1), and that there are only five clans, there is a likelihood of repeat marriages simply due to limited opportunities.

Table 7.1 In-mamage and out-mamage for males by settlement, based on 254 first marriages in cumulative records, but excluding data for the more recent settlements of Simalouw and Tahena Ukuna (Nuanea)

Settlement	*All male marriages records*	*Male marriages within settlement*	*Marriages with other settlement*	*Marriages involving non-Nuaulu settlement*
Rouhua	141	117	11	13
Niamonae	57	43	13	1
Watane	19	11	7	1
Hahualan	20	0	20	0
Aihisuru	17	8	9	0
Bunara	49	31	17	1

Endogamies of place

Why there should be such a high rate of village endogamy, which Hagen (2006: 86) also reports for Maneo, is itself interesting. It is partly a matter of consolidating resources, opportunities for contact and the consequence of perpetuating existing alliances, and partly political difficulties with some clans in other villages. However, it cannot always have been so. Rouhua was founded around 1930, as a breakaway settlement of ultimately five local sub-clans from Niamonae. Niamonae comprised the settlements of Watane, Aihisuru and Hahualan up until the 1980s, when the entire population of Aihisuru moved to a new location, Simalouw, in the new transmigration zone around the confluence of the Nua and Ruatan rivers. Both before and after, Niamonae was regarded as a single village for ritual purposes, with a shared ***suane***.[3] As a small settlement of initially only a few clans, Rouhua cannot have been self-sufficient in finding spouses. Indeed, if we look at the records for those resident in Rouhua during 1970–71 but born before 1910, they had all moved from other villages. As Rouhua expanded, so there were fewer marriages with other villages. Thus, a proportion of what appear to be inter-village marriages are simply a consequence of households having

moved from Niamonae while children were young, and although they subsequently lived and then married in Rouhua, because their place of birth is reported as Niamonae, this increased the calculated number of 'inter-village' marriages.

If we look at the patterns of out-marriage with other Nuaulu settlements, we can see that not only are levels low, but that the pattern of clans into which men are marrying is skewed. Thus, for Rouhua, of the 11 out-marriages recorded six are with Neipani-nesinopu (Hahualan), two with Pia (Bunara), and one each with Huni (Bunara), Kamama (Watane) and Peinisa (Bunara). The three settlements within Niamonae, as we have seen, necessarily have high rates of out-marriage between the constituent settlements of Watane, Aihisuru and Hahualan, but if we combine all out-marriages for Niamonae, of the 21 male out-marriages, five are with Neipani-tomoien, four with Soumori, three with Huni, two each with Nahatue, Matoke-pina and Aipura, and one with Pia. By comparison, Bunara has five out-marriages for each of Peinisa and Sounaue-ainakahata, four with Neipaninesinopu, two with Matoke-hanaie and one with Kamama (Table 7.2). Overall, percentage settlement endogamy is more-or-less proportional to population size.

Table 7.2 Non-local clans into which men are marrying in Nuaulu south coast settlements

	Nne	*Pia*	*H*	*Nna*	*K*	*Unkn*	*Pei*	*Mp*	*Sm*	*S-aip*	*Ntom*	*Snaka*	*Mh*
Rouhua	6	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Niamonae	0	1	3	2	0	2	0	2	4	2	5	0	0
Watane	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0
Hahualan	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	2	1	2	0	7	2
Aihisuru	0	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	8	0
Bunara	4	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	5	2

Key: H = Huni, K = Kamama, Mh = Matoke-hanaie, Mp = Matoke-pina, Nna = Neipani-nahatue, Nne = Neipani-nesinopu, Ntom = Neipani-tomoien, Pei = Peinisa, Pia = Pia, Sm = Soumori, Snaka = Sounaue-ainakahata, Saip = Sounaue-ainakahata, Unkn = Unknown.

Demographic fitness both constrains and facilitates clan alliance

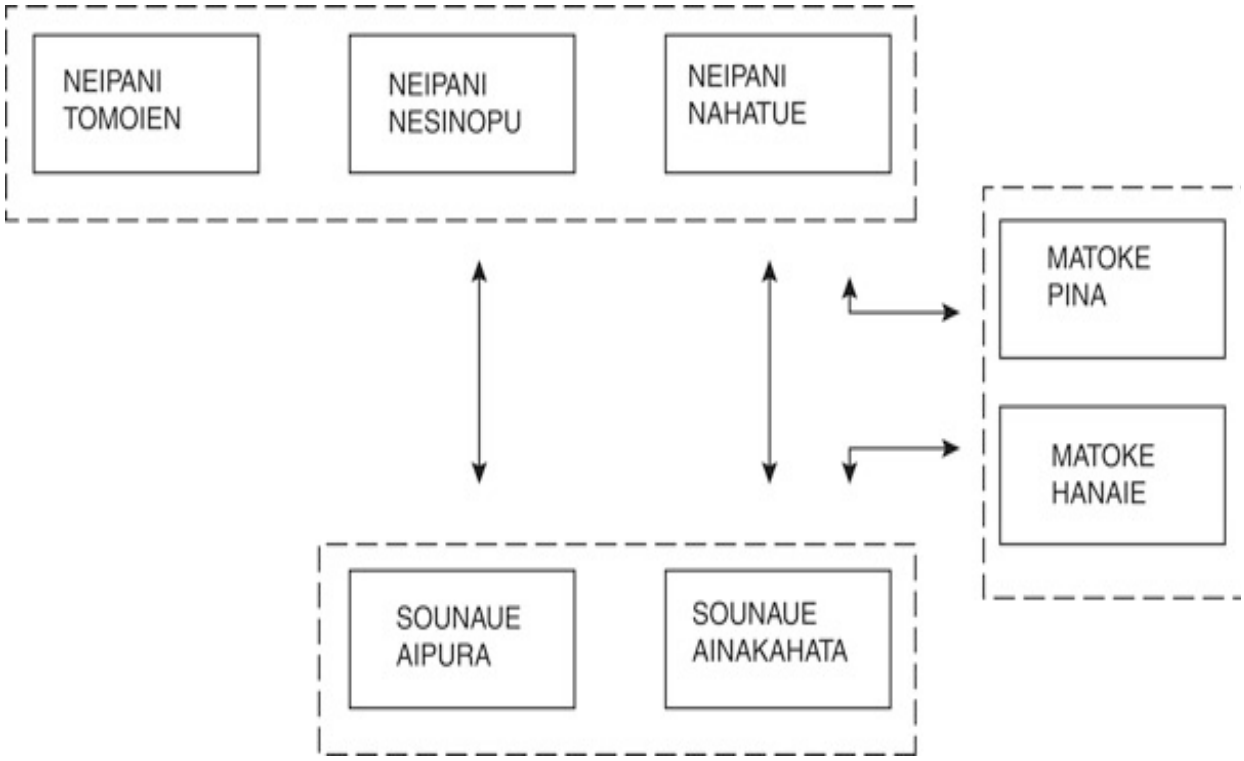


Figure 7.4 How segmentation restricts marital exchange between clans.

If we look at all Nuaulu settlements, of the 13 clans regarded as autonomous ***ipane***,[4] three are sufficiently recently segmented to still have the rule of clan exogamy between them in force (Matoke-pina, Matoke-hanaie, Neipani-tomoien, Neipani-nesinopu, Sounaue-aipura and Sounaue-ainakahata), even though there are significant differences in ritual practices between the last two (Figure 7.4). This reduces the number of clans available for intermarriage from 13 to 10, and again increases the likelihood of the necessity of repeat inter-clan marriages. Added to this, the demographic variation between clans in terms of total individuals, age and gender balance (Table 2.1; Ellen 2012: Figure 9.6) will also influence the possibility of, or the necessity for, repeat marriages. The considerable variation in clan size makes it likely that there will be more repeat marriages with Neipani and Sounaue (the two largest clans) and less repeat marriages with the smallest (Numanaeta and Sopanani).

The ritual services that clans provide for each other are sometimes expressed in terms of the relationship between ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai***, wife-takers and wife-givers. In some cases, for example in female puberty ceremonies, where the role of mother's brother is significant, the expressed relationship between genealogical ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai*** is consistent. This is because in female puberty rituals there is only one neophyte (though in some cases two sisters) from the same clan and descent line. In this situation the terms coincide with genealogical reality. However, in male puberty ceremonies, where there may be upwards of 15 neophytes, it is impossible to find a single clan that is ***hanahanai*** to all, in the sense of providing the mothers of every boy being initiated. In terms of ritual reciprocity, there are no two clans that are completely self-sufficient in providing each other with ritual services or marriage partners. Indeed, this would result in a very precarious situation and undermine the long-term reproduction of both. For example, if we look again at the data for male puberty rituals that I explored in *Nuaulu Religious Practices*, whereby novices are sponsored by an adult from a different clan (the ***morite*** relationship), we can see a picture that is quite complex (Ellen 2012: 133), showing that in Rouhua reciprocity is only achieved in one case, the relationship between Sounaue-ainakahata and Matoke-pina. And here the data concern rules based on precedent rather than aggregated statistical data.

Another factor that interferes with the working of the model is historic clan segmentation. Lineal depth is not a major preoccupation for Nuaulu clans, and there are few systematic attempts to trace formal genealogies. Indeed, the extent to which we can accurately describe both Nuaulu houses and clans as 'descent groups' is debatable, as we explored in Chapter 3 and 4. However, clans do have some knowledge of their histories. These histories often reveal processes of segmentation, whereby houses through demographic increase become clans (***ipane***) by dividing to form two new separate houses. This is evident, for example, in clan names (Figure 7.4). Thus, Sounaue split to become Sounaue-ainakahata and Sounaue-aipura. We know this to be in the distant past as separate settlements and territories are described for the period before Nuaulu settled on the south coast of Seram. Similarly, the clan Matoke split much more recently (in the 1930s), to give rise to Matoke-hanaie and Matoke-pina. In the case of Sounaue, both new clans further divided to form new houses. As we have noted, although now separate clans, the old rule of exogamy still applies and Sounaue-ainakahata may not marry Sounaue-aipura, nor Matoke-hanaie Matoke-pina. However,

not all clans that divide on the basis of two existing houses will divide again to form two new houses in a relationship of ritual reciprocity, and some clans may have lost a house through demographic attrition, while others may have accrued three houses for specific historic reasons that we need not go into here.

Patterns of connectedness between clans

Some clans and houses are, thus, demographically fitter than others and provide more potential spouses for other clans, while their very fecundity makes it easier for them to find spouses in preferred clans. We can see this reflected in the number of movements of spouses between clans and sub-clans. Table 7.3a provides a matrix for all Nuaulu marriages in the census database using available male records gathered between 1970 and 2015. In effect, it shows the connectedness of Nuaulu clans through marriage. Tables 7.3b–7.3d show the subsets of these data for the settlements of (b) Rouhua, (c) Niamonae and (d) Bunara, respectively. In some cases data on sub-clan affiliation is unavailable, and the relevant numbers are therefore shown in separate columns as: 'additional Matoke', 'additional Neipani' and 'additional Sounaue'. These should be added to the numbers in the preceding columns for sub-clans of the same clan to obtain total figures for the clans, which are – as explained previously – the exogamous units. Data for the two most recently segmented sub-clans – Sounaue-kapanusa in Rouhua and Neipani-runusa in Moni – which have separated within the last decade, are not included in these and other figures on clan demographics.

The data displayed in Table 7.3 can be re-arranged as flow-diagrams, and in Figure 7.5 the movement of women is shown for all clans according to ritual village, that is, respectively for (a) Rouhua, (b) Niamonae and (c) Bunara. Again, sub-clan affiliation is ignored. Quite apart from the technical difficulties of diagraming a larger number of units, and the problem of records that do not indicate sub-clan membership for clans where they exist, as we have noted, marriage is prohibited between sub-clans of the same clan. For certain purposes it is the clan level that remains important in understanding alliances, as reflected in the use of kinship terms. However, Neipani, Sounaue and Matoke (the only current clans with recognized sub-

clans) are in genealogical and social terms only abstractions, and what matters in marital exchanges are biological bodies, the material objects comprising transactions and the physical sacred houses that contain them. Neipani, Sounaue and Matoke have no sacred houses other than those belonging to their constituent sub-clans. No useful purpose would be served by providing a flow-diagram including all sub-clans as it would be too complicated to follow, but Figure 7.5d does show all movements between the two largest clans – Sounaue and Neipani – including between their sub-clans. Although in some cases the records do not have data for sub-clan affiliation of spouse, this diagram does show simply and effectively the extent and pattern of marital exchange for the two most connected clans. What is interesting is that despite the relative demographic strengths of each and all of the sub-clans, there are no reported marriages connecting Neipani-tomoien and Sounaue-aipura, only one movement from Neipani-nahatue to Sounaue-ainakahata, and none in the opposite direction. On the other hand,

Table 7.3 Rates of clan intermarriage, cumulative records for males until 2015: (a) all Nuaulu, (b) Rouhua, (c) Niamonae, (d) Bunara

					Add.				Add.								Add.			
	Hu	*Ka*	*M-ha*	*M-pi*	*Ma*	*N-na*	*N-ne*	*N-to*	*Nei*	*Nu*	*Pe*	*Pia*	*Sm*	*S-nak*	*S-aip*	*Soun*	*Tap*	*Sop*	*TOTA*
(a) All Nuaulu																			
Huni	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	9
Kamama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	6
Matoke-hanaie	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	12
Matoke-pina	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	9	1	0	3	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	27
Add. Matoke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neipani-nahatue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	7
Neipani-nesinopu	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	13
Neipani-tomoien	0	1	0	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	5	19	0	1	0	1	51
Add. Neipani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3
Numanaeta	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Peinisa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	3	6	0	5	0	0	21
Pia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
Soumori	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	2	0	2	0	0	9	2	2	0	0	25
Sounaue-ainakahata	0	2	3	10	2	1	3	18	3	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	50
Sounaue-aipura	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
Add. Sounaue	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Tapinunue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sopanani	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TOTAL	5	5	7	24	3	5	15	39	15	0	24	5	25	49	6	18	1	3	

(b) Rouhua

Huni	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kamama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Matoke-hanaie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Matoke-pina	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	1	0	3	2	2	5	0	0	0	2	26
Add. Matoke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neipani-nahatue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neipani-nesinopu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Neipani-tomoien	0	1	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	4	18	0	1	0	1	44
Add. Neipani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Numanaeta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peinisa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	4	0	3	0	0	13
Pia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soumori	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	6	1	0	1	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	20
Sounaue-ainakahata	1	0	0	10	2	0	3	20	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	43
Sounaue-aipura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Add. Sounaue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tapinunue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sopanani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	1	1	0	19	4	0	6	37	3	0	15	2	14	39	0	4	0	3	

(c) Niamonae

Huni	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kamama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	7
Matoke-hanaie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	10
Matoke-pina	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Add. Matoke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neipani-nahatue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Neipani-nesinopu	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	1	1	0	0	14
Neipani-tomoien	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Add. Neipani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Numanaeta	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peinisa	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	7
Pia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soumori	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sounaue-ainakahata	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
Sounaue-aipura	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Add. Sounaue	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
Tapinunue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sopanani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	3	2	5	1	0	1	5	2	52	0	9	1	5	11	1	8	0	0	

(d) Bunara

Huni	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	8
Kamama	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Matoke-hanaie	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Matoke-pina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Add. Matoke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neipani-nahatue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	6
Neipani-nesinopu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neipani-tomoien	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Add. Neipani	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3
Numanaeta	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Peinisa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Pia	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	6
Soumori	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	7
Sounaue-ainakahata	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sounaue-aipura	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
Add. Sounaue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tapinunue	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sopanani	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TOTAL	5	2	2	0	0	5	4	1	4	0	5	1	6	4	6	3	1	0	

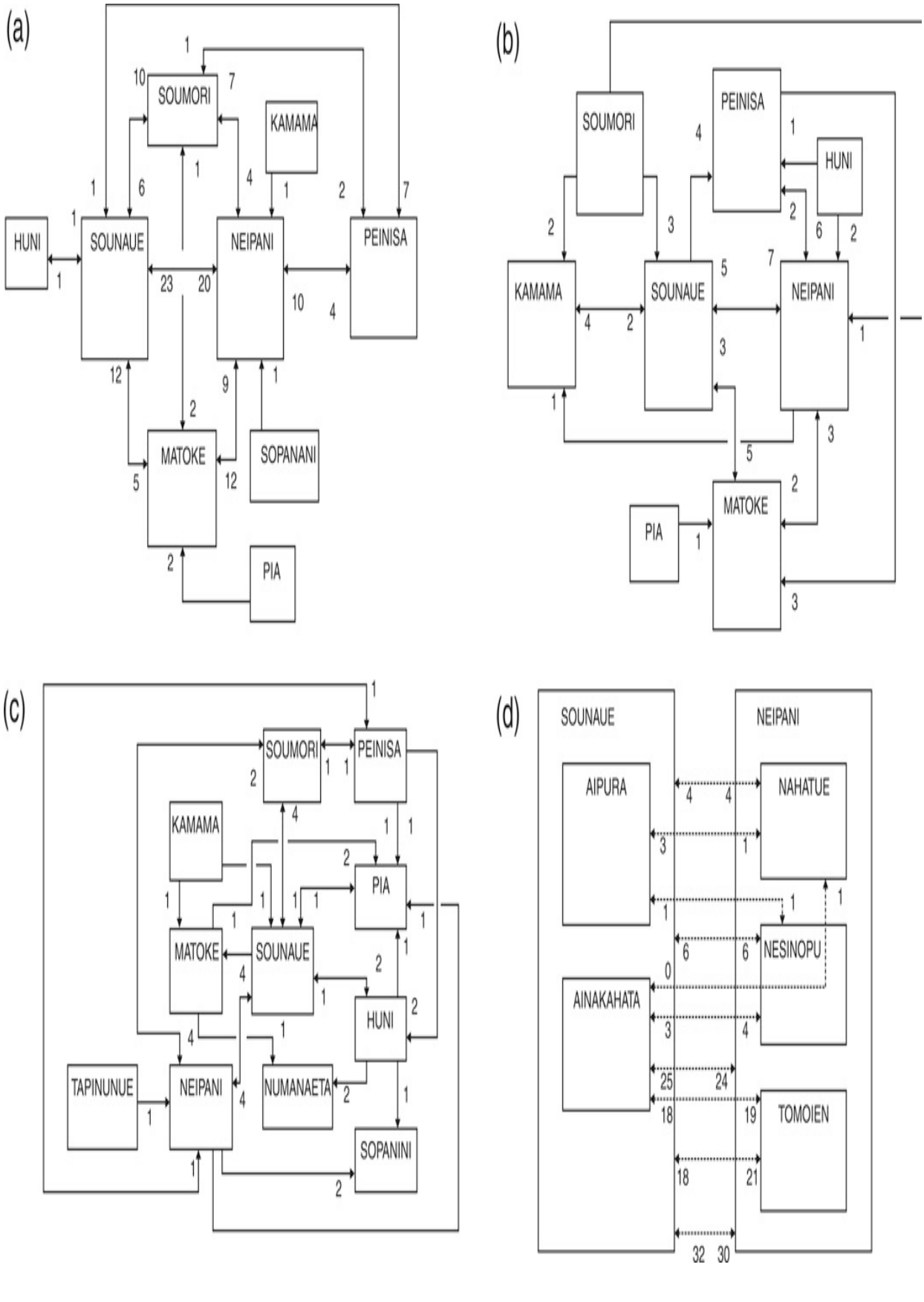

(a)
SOUMORI
KAMAMA
HUNI
SOUNAUE
NEIPANI
PEINISA
MATOKE
SOPANANI
PIA
(b)
SOUMORI
PEINISA
HUNI
KAMAMA
SOUNAUE
NEIPANI
PIA
MATOKE
(c)
SOUMORI
PEINISA
KAMAMA
PIA
MATOKE
SOUNAUE
HUNI
TAPINUNUE
NEIPANI
NUMANAETA
SOPANINI
(d)
SOUNAUE
NEIPANI
AIPURA
NAHATUE
NESINOPU
AINAKAHATA
TOMOIEN

Figure 7.5 Movement of spouses between clans for individual Nuaulu settlements, as these existed in 1971 (and 2015): (a) Rouhua, (b) Niamonae, (c) Bunara and (d) movement of women between clans Neipani and Sounaue and their constituent sub-clans (all settlements).

while there are those who argue that Matoke and Soumori should not exchange spouses because of the special relationship regarding village headship roles, and Soumori and Peinisa due to an historic ***pena*** (AM *pela*) blood-brotherhood relationship, we can see from Table 7.3a that such exchanges do occur.

As we have already noted, the three oldest ritual settlements are all significantly in-marrying, but what do such data tell us about patterns and preferences? First of all, we can note that patterns in the three settlements are not the same.

In Rouhua, for example, we would not expect men from Kamama, Matokehanaie, Neipani-nahatue, Numanaeta, Pia, Sounaue-aipura, Tapinunue and Sopanani to be taking any women from other clans as these are non-resident and without sacred houses. A few men of normally non-resident clans (e.g. Huni and Neipani-nesinopu) have taken Rouhua wives and settled in Rouhua, usually under ***iae nisi pina*** arrangements. No women are taken from Matoke-hanaie, Neipaninahatue, Numanaeta, Sounaue-aipura and Tapinunue. That none are taken from Numanaeta and Tapinunue can be explained in purely demographic terms, the clans being so small that the likelihood is much diminished. However, in the case of Matoke-hanaie it is likely related to historic hostility, particularly with Soumori, relating to the circumstances under which Rouhua was founded. There also seems to be a historical preference for taking wives from Sounaue-ainakahata rather than Sounaue-aipura, somewhat obscured by the fact that the former is also the largest clan, which we might expect to provide most wives even when not taking into account clan preferences.

There is no evidence that the clans Huni, Numanaeta, Pia, Tapinunue and Sopanani have taken wives from clans still located in Niamonae, no doubt partly because they are non-resident, while other clans in Niamonae without local sacred houses (Matoke-pina, Neipani-nahatue, Neipani-tomoien, Sounaue-aipura) are represented by a small number of presumably ***iae nisi pina*** marriages. No wives in Niamonae are taken from Numanaeta, Tapinunue and Sopanai, but then these are the smallest Nuaulu clans at the present time. Matoke wives in Niamonae are taken preferentially from the sub-clan Matoke-hanaie rather than from Matokepina, and given that

Matoke-pina resides almost exclusively in Rouhua, this may reflect the historically fraught relations between Rouhua and Niamonae. There also appears to be a preference for taking wives from Sounaue-ainakahata rather than from Sounaue-aipura, which is consistent with the preference for ritual village endogamy.

In Bunara, no women are being taken from Matoke-pina and Numanaeta, both of which are normally non-resident clans. Similarly, Kamama, Neipani-nesinopu, Sounaue-ainakahata and Tapinunue are non-resident clans, and therefore not taking women from any other resident clan. Normally non-resident clans Neipanitomoien and Matoke-hanaie take a handful of women from other clans, but these may be accounted for through ***iae nisi pina*** marriage.

The post-1980 settlements at the Nua-Ruatan confluence have not existed long enough to have produced useful comparative data on marriage, and anyway in their alliances generally refer back to previous settlements in the Sepa area. In other words, there is a sense in which the group of clans that came to constitute Tahena Ukuna are still seen as Aihisuru and Watane, though spatially displaced. All of the 11 marriages associated with Nuanea in the census database (with the exception of one) were contracted while the couples were living in the older Nuaulu villages in the vicinity of Sepa. Looking at these same data slightly differently, and focusing mainly on Figure 7.5, the most connected clan can be seen to be Sounaue, closely followed by Neipani. All other clans are way behind and their marital connectedness reflects their demographic strength. The least connected are Tapinunue, Numanaeta and Sopanani, as we would expect.

Table 7.4 Marriages for all Matoke males recorded mNuaulu census database

	Ego	*W*	*Clan of W*
1	Sonohue	Maulea	Neipani-tomoien
2	lane	Rebeka	Taniai (Kei)
3	Tuisa	Pinaone	Sounaue-ainakahata
4	Surita	Huaso (Wl)	Neipani-tomoien
5		Kanasun (W2)	Soumori
6		Asue (W3)	Sounaue-ainakahata
7	Sahiane	Waka	Neipani-tomoien

	Ego	*W*	*Clan of W*
8	Saniau	Masa(Wl)	Sounaue
9		Sekeone (W2)	Sopanani
10	Naupate	Siloo (Wl)	Neipani-nesinopu
11		Rimanasa (W2)	Peinisa
12		Daucus (W3)	Neipani
13		Lo(W4)	Soo (Tehoru)
14	Iako	Sukamaua	Sounaue
15	Inane	Aharena (Wl)	Pia
16		Patima (W2)	Neipani-ne sinopu
17	Saune	Rahimaa	Sopanani
18	Teneam	Rahie (Wl)	Neipani
19		Utane (W2)	Sounaue
20		Kanasun (W3)	Soumori
21	Temene	Lewane	Peinisa
22	Pelauma	Rinenasa (Wl)	Peinisa
23		Hudaiyah (W2)	Rutah
24	Natulori	Makuai	?
25	Raia	Ison	Pia
26	Yopi	Kataniwe (Wl)	Taniwel
27		Rebeka (W2)	Taniai (Kei)
28	Pelauma	Mam ana	Neipani-ne sinopu
29	Huanata	Hurauwa	Neipani-tomoien

Another way of looking at inter-clan marriage patterns is shown in Table 7.4. In this table I have listed the marriages for all males born in Rouhua recorded in the Nuaulu census for one clan, selecting Matoke – a middle-ranking clan – for convenience. Alternatively, we can select patterns that emphasize the constraints of conforming to preferred inter-clan alliances in terms of all siblings of a single father. In Figure 7.6 I have selected the offspring of Maineu Neipani-tomoien and Nepa Peinisa. This represents a

large number of full siblings (10) for parents who had married in about 1963. I have deliberately chosen a household where there are no second or further marriages, and therefore potentially half-siblings, which can complicate the picture. Some evidence for such complications is explored in Chapter 8. Of the 10 marriages contracted by the offspring of Maineu and Nepa, only one has married into the clan of the mother (Peinisa), but four have married into the same clan (Sounaue-ainakahata).

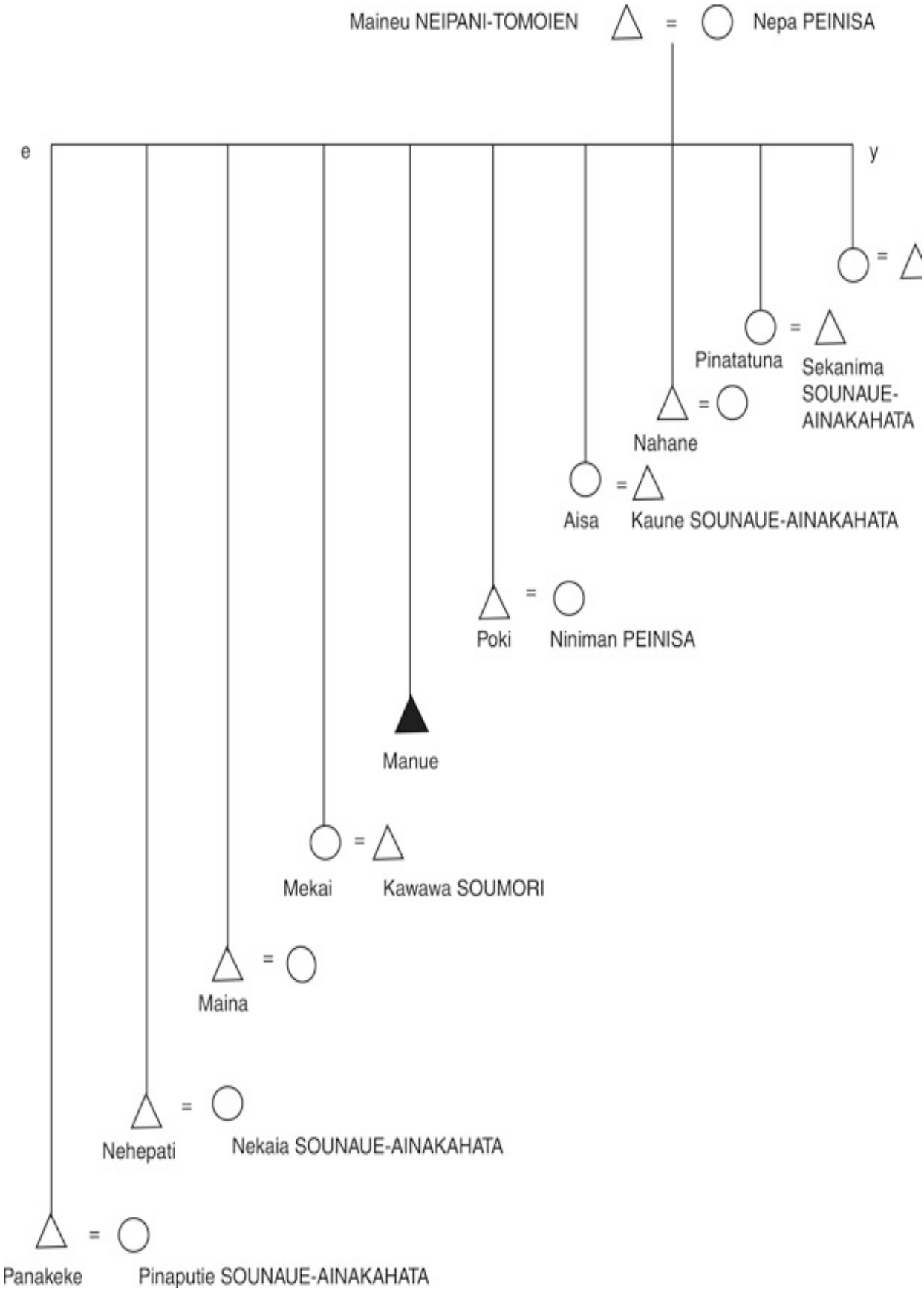

Maineu NEIPANI-TOMOIEN
=
Nepa PEINISA
e
y
=
Pinatatuna
=
Sekanima
SOUNAUE-
AINAKAHATA
Nahane
=
Aisa
=
Kaune SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA
Poki
=
Niniman PEINISA
Manue
Mekai
=
Kawawa SOUMORI
Maina
=
Nehepati
=
Nekaia SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA
Panakeke
=
Pinaputie SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA

Figure 7.6 The offspring of Maineu Neipani-tomoien and Nepa Peinisa (Rouhua) and their marital alliances with different clans.

Exchanging siblings

Given the small number of Nuaulu clans, there are clearly many cases of pairs of clans where spouses move in both directions, especially looking at clans overall, but also for particular ritual villages (Figures 7.5a–d). Thus, even if there are few examples of genealogical 'sister-exchange', from a classificatory perspective and in general terms there is plenty of evidence of husbands coming from wife-giving clans or wives from wife-taking clans, and therefore of sufficient structural bilaterality to satisfy minimal expectations of balance. This is especially the case for the larger clans (e.g. Figure 7.5d), and makes it plausible for an individual descent line to claim that they have something approaching symmetry between ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai*** over the long term. Where actual genealogical same-sex individuals are exchanged for their opposite-sex siblings, the use of ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai*** terms simply alternate depending on the marriage concerned. And when it comes to the apparent incongruence of ***aratae*** moving backwards and forwards between clans that keep exchanging spouses, no problem is encountered: within a single marriage valuables anyway travel both ways. There is no ideological reason why valuables need to be seen to be travelling along complex pathways between numerous clans, and direct reciprocity has the advantage of keeping in immediate circulation valuable plates that are in short supply and are seen as the patrimony of particular clans. This is contrary to the situation described for Maneo by Hagen (2006). And unlike Tanimbar (McKinnon 1991: 24), or elsewhere on Seram, such as among the Huaulu (Valeri 1975 –6: 92), there are no rules preventing groups of brothers marrying groups of sisters.

Where two men have married each other's sister, and brother and sister are in a ***sau monne*** relationship, the avoidance rules do not apply. They are permitted, for example, to say each other's names (Florey and Bolton 1997: 45), which as we have noted in Chapter 5 is normally something avoided. Although where two clans are exchanging women, a WMB belongs to the same clan as the wife-takers, this does not appear to present a problem.

Marriage involving exchange of sisters can be simultaneous or non-simultaneous, but either way it results in spouses who would otherwise be in an extreme ***sau monne*** relationship, as brothers and sisters, not having to comply with any restrictions. Actual cases of sister-exchange are rare, but this is mainly because of demographic and related constraints. In some cases there are no sisters to exchange, or sisters may be of unsuitable age (too old or too young). In other cases there may be plenty of sisters but no brothers to exchange them, or there may be the complication of half-siblings where parents have remarried. I have searched for all marriages of all men in the village of Rouhua recorded in the Nuaulu census database for evidence of a correspondence between the clan of a male ego and his HBW which might be consistent with the terminology and a preference for exchange with bilateral cross-cousins (Table 7.5). In the clan Peinisa, of 10 marriages recorded, only one was linked to classificatory sister-exchange, in other words where a WBW was from the same clan as a male ego, also from the clan Peinisa. Where sister-exchange does occur, no marriage-wealth is said to be necessary, since the spouses 'buy each other' and the transactions cancel out. Bolton (1997b: 92) reports that in April 1996, after my fieldwork for that year had been completed, a second case of simultaneous exchange (***apatuka umau***) was being negotiated in Rouhua.

Table 7.5 Instances of classmcatory sister-exchange

	Clan	*Male*	*W*	*Clan of W*	*WF*	*WB*	*WBW*	*Clan of WBW*	*Percentage of total clan marriages recorded*
1	Peinisa	Sahunete	Pinakaua	Neipani-tomoien	–	Sainika	Naunepe	Peinisa	10
2	Matoke	Inane	Patima	Neipani-nesinopu	–	Siwa	Wairisa	Matoke	05
3	Soumori	Mosone	Aharena (W1)	Sounaue-ainakahata	Paikone	Topaia	Ninatu	Soumori	16
4	Soumori	Retaone	Mariam	Neipani-tomoien	Kotahatu	Hotena	Patima (W1)	Soumori	
5	Soumori	Soine	Suniapi	Sounaue-ainakahata	Lohia	Losa	Pinasapa	Soumori	

We can explore the instances of Soumori sister-exchange (Table 7.6) further if we look at the genealogies for those immediately involved: Retaone and Hotena Neipani-tomoien, Soine and Losa Sounaue-ainakahata (Figure 7.7), and (the most complex case) Mosone and Topaia Sounaue (Figure 7.8). Note that in all instances the sister-exchange is classificatory, in that in each case the marriage is with a different patriline within the clan Soumori, with no evidence of close agnatic connection. In each case also there is a descent line within a sacred house involved, which might influence the choice of alliance. In the case of Mosone and Topaia, however, we have in addition marriage with a deceased wife's sister, a sororal marriage, a subject to which we will return in Chapter 8.

In the Nuaulu case, therefore, we have evidence for occasional genealogical bilateral cross-cousin marriage, much two-way exchange between pairs of clans mainly arising from population constraints in the context of general rules of exogamy and individual preferences, and some correlation with symmetrical features of the terminology. As Needham (1966, 1967) showed in a series of papers on the relationship between terminology and alliance, a terminology of symmetrical alliance (what some call a two-section system) may well be accompanied by the regular

contraction of asymmetric alliances, and he warns against the dangers of typologizing (Needham 1968). The same point is echoed in the disparity between symmetrical structure of two-section terminologies and the asymmetric character of affinal alliance noted for various eastern Indonesian cultural populations (e.g. Endeh, Manggarai, Atoni and northern Tetum) by Hicks (1983: 73). The Nuaulu data provides further evidence of such a disparity. Thus, wife-taking and wife-giving clans are in a complementary, relative and dynamic relationship, rather than the fixed relationship sometimes implied in interpretations of the old Dutch models of ‘connubium’ (de Josselin de Jong 1977b: vi).

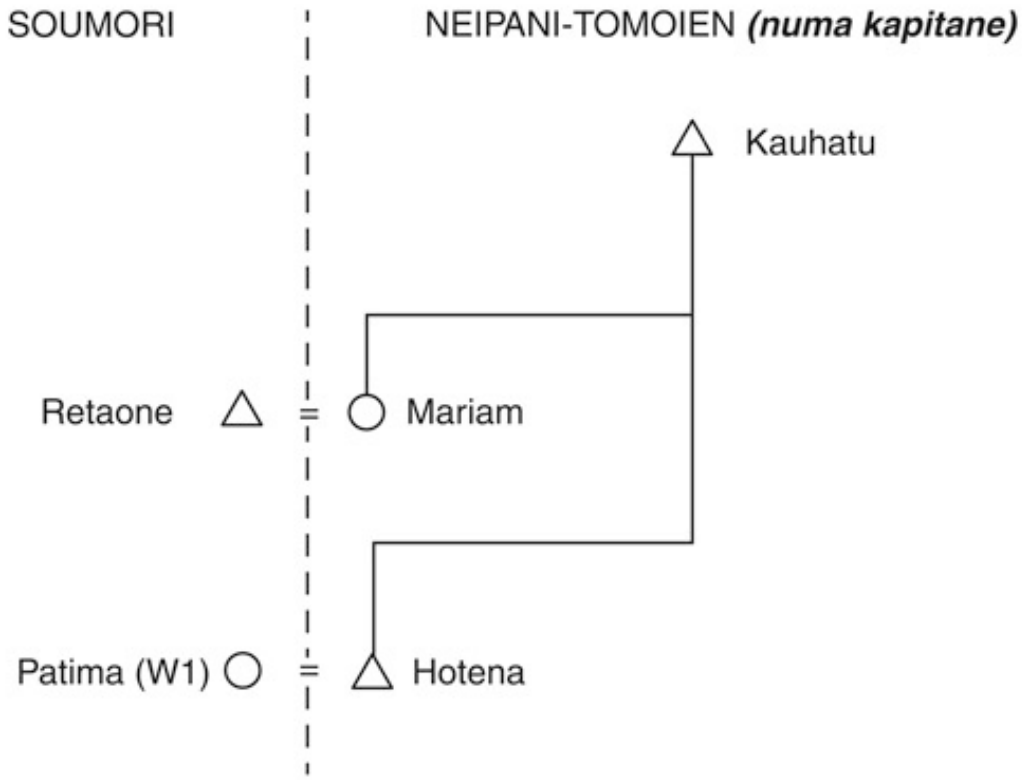
Table 7.6 All Soumon marriages for Rouhua, showing extent of data for WBW connections and three cases of WBW marriage

	Married male	*W*	*Clan of W*	*WF*	*WB*	*WBW*	*Clan of WBW*
1	Komisi	Patima	Sounaue-ainakahata	Nepinama	–	–	–
2	Tukanesi	Pinatatuna	Sounaue-ainakahata	Numapena	Sarahene		
					Tigana	Wente	Neipani-tomoien
					Hatuaia	–	–
					Sekanima	–	–
					Tuisa	–	–
3	Sakaso		Sounaue-ainakahata	Sakaso	no other siblings	–	–
4	Saite	Pinaroi (W1)	Neipani-tomoien	Sahukone	Manesi	Tanane	Peinisa
					Pisara	not married	
		Pinararie (W2)	Sounaue-ainakahata	Anarima	Hatarai	not married	
					Tuane	not married	
5	Sante	Selebia Sopalato [Sepa marriage, conversion to Islam]					
6	Amaea				Neune	Huhuse	Sounaue-ainakahat
7	Kawasa				Panakeke	Pinaputie	Sounaue-ainakahat
					Nehepati	Nekaia	Sounaue-ainakahat
					Poki	Niniman	Peinisa
8	Mosone	Aharena (W1)	Sounaue-ainakahata	Paikone	Manioka	Meri	Neipani-nesinopu
					Retahatu		Matoke
					Topaia	Ninatu	Soumori[1]
		Pinarehe (W2)	Sounaue-ainakahata	Paikone	Manioka	Meri	Matoke
9	Napuae	Siloo	Neipani-tomoien		Sekanima	Wanto	Matoke
					Pisara	Rahie	Matoke
10	Pelauma	Pinaniti	Sounaue-ainakahata		Heunaka	Kanakuru	Matoke
					Losa	Pinasapa	Soumori
					Kaune	not married	

11	Retaone	Mariam	Neipani-tomoien		Hotena	Patima (W1)	Soumori
						Talewi (W2)	Sounaue-ainakahat
					Huanoi	Sekeone	Sopanani
					Lokon	–	–
12	Soine	Suniapi	Sounaue-ainakahata		Heunaka	Kanakuru	Matoke
					Losa	Pinasapa	Soumori
					Kaune	not married	
13	Seipati	Paleta	Neipani-tomoien	–	–	–	–
14	Siresou	Patima	Sounaue-ainakahata		Hatarai	not married	
					Tuane	not married	
15	Penaso	Masa	Sounaue-ainakahata	Hatarai	Hatuniasa	married European	
					Kaune	Kelate	Mawono (Hatuhen
					Sanahana	–	–
					Anarima	Kanamasa	Neipani-tomoien
					Naunesi	Pinahunane	Matoke
16	Napuae	Alewa	Matoke-pina	–	–	–	–

Notes: [1]Married Z of dead W1; (–) = no data available.

(a)


SOUMORI
NEIPANI-TOMOIEN *(numa kapitane)*
Kauhatu
Retaone
Mariam
Patima (W1)
Hotena

(b)

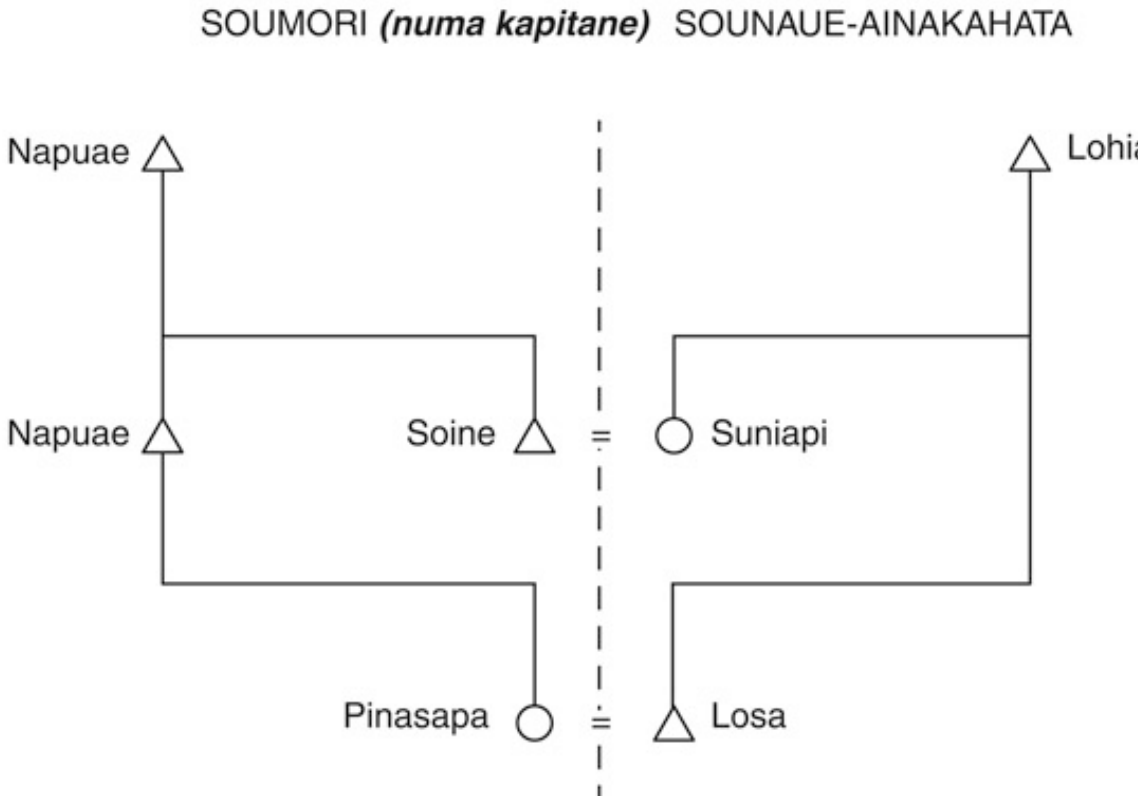

SOUMORI *(numa kapitane)*
SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA
Napuae
Lohi
Napuae
Soine
Suniapi
Pinasapa
Losa

Figure 7.7 Classificatory sister-exchange: (a) Retaone Soumori and Hotena Neipanitomoien; (b) Soine Soumori and Losa Sounaue-ainakahata.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the patterns of clan alliance that Nuaulu are able to contract are influenced both by demographic constraints imposed by patterns of settlement and clan composition, as well as social preferences for particular kinds of marriage.

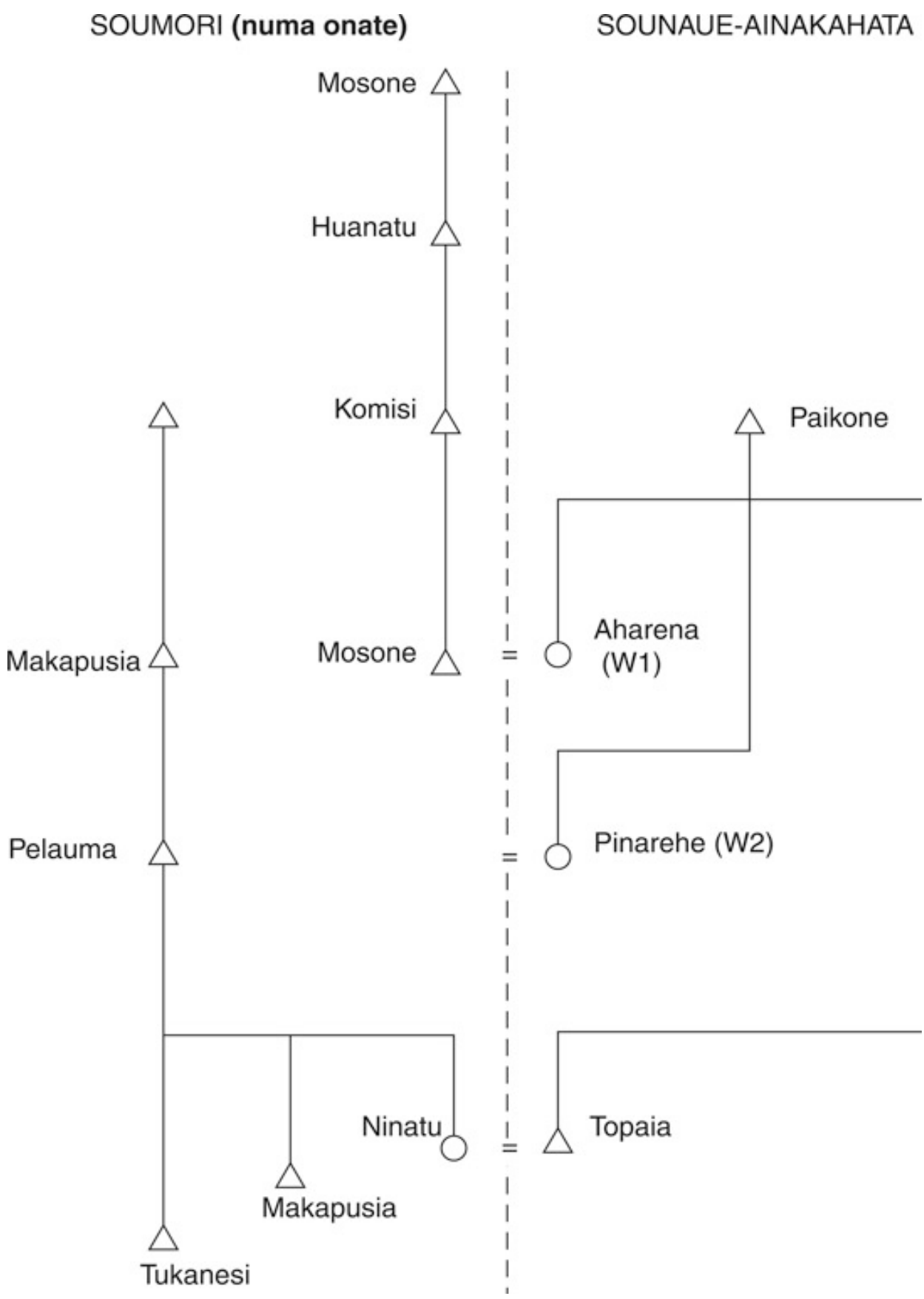

SOUMORI (numa onate)
SOUNAUE-AINAKAHATA
Mosone
Huanatu
Komisi
Paikone
Makapusia
Mosone
=
Aharena
(W1)
Pelauma
=
Pinarehe (W2)
Ninatu
=
Topaia
Makapusia
Tukanesi

Figure 7.8 Sororal classificatory sister-exchange: Mosone Soumori and Topaia Sounaueainakahata.

Firstly, bilaterality and matrilaterality are both evident consequences of other features of the system, and recognized principles or organization, sometimes in tension and yet periodically brought to the point of reconciliation – reflected in the terminology and intermittently in marriage practices. Low population levels and preferential settlement endogamy increases the likelihood of potential marriage partners being related. Cross-cousin (including bilateral) marriages can hardly be avoided given the limited availability of potential spouses. On the other hand, ideal symbolic symmetries are distorted by the demography of different clans. Because demography is always in flux, bilaterality can never be completely achieved. There is a tension between Nuaulu seeking to simplify their ritual relations with other clans in accordance with notions of balance, and the difficulty of individuals finding suitable marriage partners, and nowadays even more a conflict between individuals wanting to make their own decisions about marriage partners, and the interests of the local clan. As Hagen (2006: 91) puts it, speaking of Maneo, sexual bonding must be recognized as a culturally salient motivation and not just biology. In a world in which elders seek to impose order they are constantly battling against the inevitable intrusion of the 'chaos of desire'. The consequences of such chaos are something we return to in Chapter 8.

For Kédang, Barnes (1980a: 84) reports that preference for MBD marriage is 'almost solely ideological', presumably meaning that it is preferred for symbolic rather than materially pragmatic reasons. For Nuaulu MBD-FZS marriage is valued for two reasons: it is consistent with relationship terminology and is the assumed preference of the ancestors because it binds two clans together more closely. But as we saw in Chapter 6, it also often involves less marriage-wealth. Of those males marrying a classificatory matrilateral cross-cousin, 12 are clan heads, ***kapitane*** or heads of other sacred houses (35 percent), although this is only 29 percent of all such positions recorded for those persons in the corpus. It is the easiest way of ensuring the social continuity of sacred houses that cannot biologically reproduce themselves.

Secondly, there is the relationship between wife-givers and wife-takers. Nuaulu marriage is idealized as a transaction between clans in which a woman moves against valuables, services and a money payment, of an agreed combination. The marriage transaction itself, comprising a series of

major and minor transactions, represents the initiation of a new transactional relationship between clans or the renewal of a pre-existing relationship, after which goods and services continue to flow between clans via the marital bond for the life of the union. This establishes an alliance in which bride-givers are superior to bride-takers, but the terms ***tanaite*** and ***hanahanai*** may be used for a specific marriage relationship, or to describe the relationship between a mother and a father's clan, or in a more generic sense where clans are in a relationship where ritual services are exchanged. These different senses do not always cohere, are un-problematically used relative to each other, and the same clan can be in both a wife-giving and a wife-taking relationship to another clan. The single marital transaction is recognized as just one in a wider pattern of wife-giving/wife-taking relationships, which extend affinity into alliance (c.f. Forth 2001: 117–18) throughout the Nuaulu universe of clans, spreading out laterally and coming into being and terminating through time. However, apart from alliances between clans that are associated with the provision of certain ritual services, for Nuaulu at the present time the need for long-term political alliances does not appear to be a dominant motivating factor in either sustaining inter-clan marital relationships or embarking on new ones.

Thirdly, we have noted how high levels of village (particularly ritual village) endogamy (c.f. Hagen 2006: 85) exacerbate the issues posed by multiple overlapping and sometimes contradictory ties. As clans have grown since 1970, there has been even less reason to marry out of the village and more opportunities to find a suitable spouse within it, thus increasing the likelihood of classificatory cross-cousin marriage, 'sister-exchange' and the symmetrical features of ongoing relations between pairs of clans. It is sufficient for there to be a few indicative genealogical cross-cousin marriages to maintain long-term alliances, and for most people these kinds of marriage are not considered pre-eminent.

Fourthly, the distinction between preferred and prescribed marriages is not particularly helpful. Rather, there are degrees of value placed on different alliances. Both symmetric and asymmetric forms of marriage are permissible for Nuaulu, as has also been shown for a number of other eastern Indonesian societies (e.g. Hoga Sara, Flores: Molnar 2000: 24). There is no suggestion that one-way movement is ideal and bilateral exchange de-stabilizing (Lévi-Strauss 1970: 440–9). Indeed, bilaterality is valued, it being philosophically accepted that valuables given in exchange for women 'will some day return', while Nuaulu understand the oddity of a wife's mother's brother belonging

to the same clan as the wife-takers, but think it is of no consequence. There is, then, no single pattern, but there are historic relations between clans and groups of clans in particular places which serve as a model for current practice, only partially attainable, due to a number of demographic, economic and social pressures, affecting the size and character of exchange transactions, the economic and social needs of the clans involved, and the finite number of possible unions. These transactional and structural features of Nuaulu marriage practices tend to confirm the more modest parts of the proto-Lévi-Straussian analysis of eastern Indonesian social structure offered by Van Wouden (1968).

Nuaulu well understand the dynamics of their system of marriage alliances, its underlying logics and the problems it routinely generates, the ambiguity fostered by the incongruence between the conditions of maintaining alliances and the words used to refer to and address people within their kin universe. Demography (complicated by politics) has given rise to the inconsistences that Nuaulu have learned to live by. The system they are agents in both altering and reproducing, is an ever-changing mixture of established alliances with different clans, preferences and demographic factors, an elision of contradictory ties from which people must select depending on situational priorities. On balance, these tend to favour a more bilateral pattern, encouraged in part by the symmetrical dynamic that regulates ritual life. Thus, the system is always moving towards (or in fashionable parlance, ‘becoming’) without ever achieving the model to which they aspired.

Notes

1 Some studies from eastern Indonesia indicate a clear and strong preference for marriage with a genealogical MBD, if available (Forth 10981 (Rindi): 231, 330; Geirnaert-Martin (Laboya) 1992: 209); Needham (Mamboru) 1987: 131), though for Ata Tana ‘Ai (Lewis 1988) there is no prescriptive rule of marriage.

2 By comparison, Hagen (2006), in his Maneo study, used a sample of 75 marriages, of which 28 percent were between spouses with known matrilateral ties, 11 percent had patrilineal ties, and three percent both; 50 percent had no connections, and 7 percent contracted with a non-Maneo clan. Further afield, Forth (1981: 367) notes for Rindi that of 1280 male and 866 female marriages, there are no instances of genealogical FZDMBS marriage, but that 26 percent of marriages are with the clan of a mother’s brother (Forth 1981: 399), which is high compared with Kédang, for which Barnes (1974: 297) provides a figure of 17 percent.

3 Similarly, the newer settlement of Nuanea incorporates the older settlements Simalouw (Kilo Sembilan) and Tahena Ukuna (Kilo Duabelas), which together also respect a single ***suane***.

4 Excluding the two most recent sub-clans to emerge, Sounaue-kapanusa and Neipanirunusa.

8
Rules, contravention and enforcement

Incest as a structural and contingent problem

One version of the Nuaulu origin myth tells how, when the first human – Matoke – descended from the sky, he had to marry his sister, as there were no other inhabitants upon the earth. This idea of original incest and sacred union is not an uncommon theme in mythologies around the world, and we need only recall Zeus and Hera and Cronus and Rhea. Similar versions are also reported elsewhere on Seram (Hagen 2006: 24), in which with each successive generation differentiation is recreated through children. Matoke first married his elder sister, but she was unable to produce children by him, and so he also married his younger sister, by whom he did have children. This myth in a way underpins the structural problem that Nuaulu encounter in marriages between cross-cousins, who they see as having many of the features of siblinghood, especially in their genealogical proximity, and particularly in situations of marriage through the exchange of siblings. But in the story of the first Matoke's marriage we also find mythological validation for the occasional necessity of polygyny.

Komisi once recounted how during that recent period when Nuaulu were still living in mountain villages, even some of his ancestors had two wives, where – as in the myth – it was the consequence of the failure of the first wife to have children. Plural marriage, however, never appears to have extended beyond two wives. On moving to the coast a change appears to have taken place – divorce replaced whatever degree of polygyny was being practiced as the means of obtaining a fertile wife. This change cannot have been initially prompted by a disapproving European missionary morality, as the contact culture – Sepa (within which the Nuaulu were effectively to

become an enclave) – was Islamic. Thus, when Tapone Sounaue-ainakahata's father had a second wife it caused considerable dispute, between those who upheld that Tapone was adhering to custom (***monne***) and those who maintained that he was not. It was this rift that appears to be one of the reasons for the establishment of Rouhua. Disputes about the interpretation of ritual practice are an enduring theme in the relations between Nuaulu clans, and between groups of clans, and in an important sense are what come to define them, and which result in the creation of new local clans. It is also what underpins the major disagreement between those clans that moved during the 1980s to the Ruatan transmigration zone and those that remained on the south coast around Sepa, an issue which I return to in the final chapter.

The ability of the Nuaulu system to reproduce itself depends on people engaging in certain relationship practices sufficiently frequently to make this happen. We have seen in Chapter 5 how terms identify categories of relationship and reinforce the expectations of those relationships over time. And we have also seen in Chapter 7 how the numerical evidence for marriages between clans and persons in classificatory positions is sufficiently frequent to reinforce a particular model of Nuaulu society. Categories and rules are indeed mutually reinforcing and do not make sense without the other. But as Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 205–11) long ago showed, rules require sanctions to ensure that they are followed frequently enough to become the norm. Much of the effectiveness of rule-following comes from soft sanctions and symbolic coercion, the fear of contravening ***monne*** and the supernatural sanctions available to ancestors. The force of ***monne*** for Nuaulu is something I have attested to before, and is well-evoked in Valeri's (2000) account of taboos in Huaulu society in a different part of Seram. In this chapter we examine what happens when things don't go according to plan, and the processes of social control that come into force to restore social order sufficiently for life to continue.

Avoidance

Many of the rules underlying interaction with other persons are expressed in terms of avoidance. This is in line with the many rules about the avoidance

of things that accompany Nuaulu ritual practice. Not unexpectedly, avoidance relations exist between persons in different clans generally brought into proximity through marriage of a mother, sibling or oneself, and often these may coincide. However, a man does not have to avoid his wife's parents, and certainly a woman does not avoid her husband's parents, and cooperates closely with the mother of her husband. There is also no avoidance between ego and his mother's brother, while a wife's father gives ego land. However, a wife's sister and wife's brother's wife are treated quite differently. To begin with, there are reciprocal avoidance behaviours between a man and his wife's sister (they must not hear each other using abusive language), or between a male ego and his wife's mother (not mentioning personal names, not eating from the same dish, not being found in the same house together) or between the wife's brother's wife and a husband's sister's husband (both ***sau monne***, where sexual contact is considered incestuous.), or between a woman and her husband's brothers (Figure 8.1). These rules have been relaxed a bit during the period 1970 to 2015, but in 1990 Napuae was still adamant that he should avoid speaking to or interacting in any way with the sister of his wife, a daughter of Sekenima. And such prohibitions adapt to modern technologies and virtual worlds. Thus, in February 1971 on playing back the tape recording I had made of a clan ***matahenne*** ritual, Inane and Surita Matoke-pina were embarrassed on hearing themselves speaking abusively as their sisters-in-law were present among the listeners, and when they heard the voices of their brother-in-law ran off with their hands over their ears.

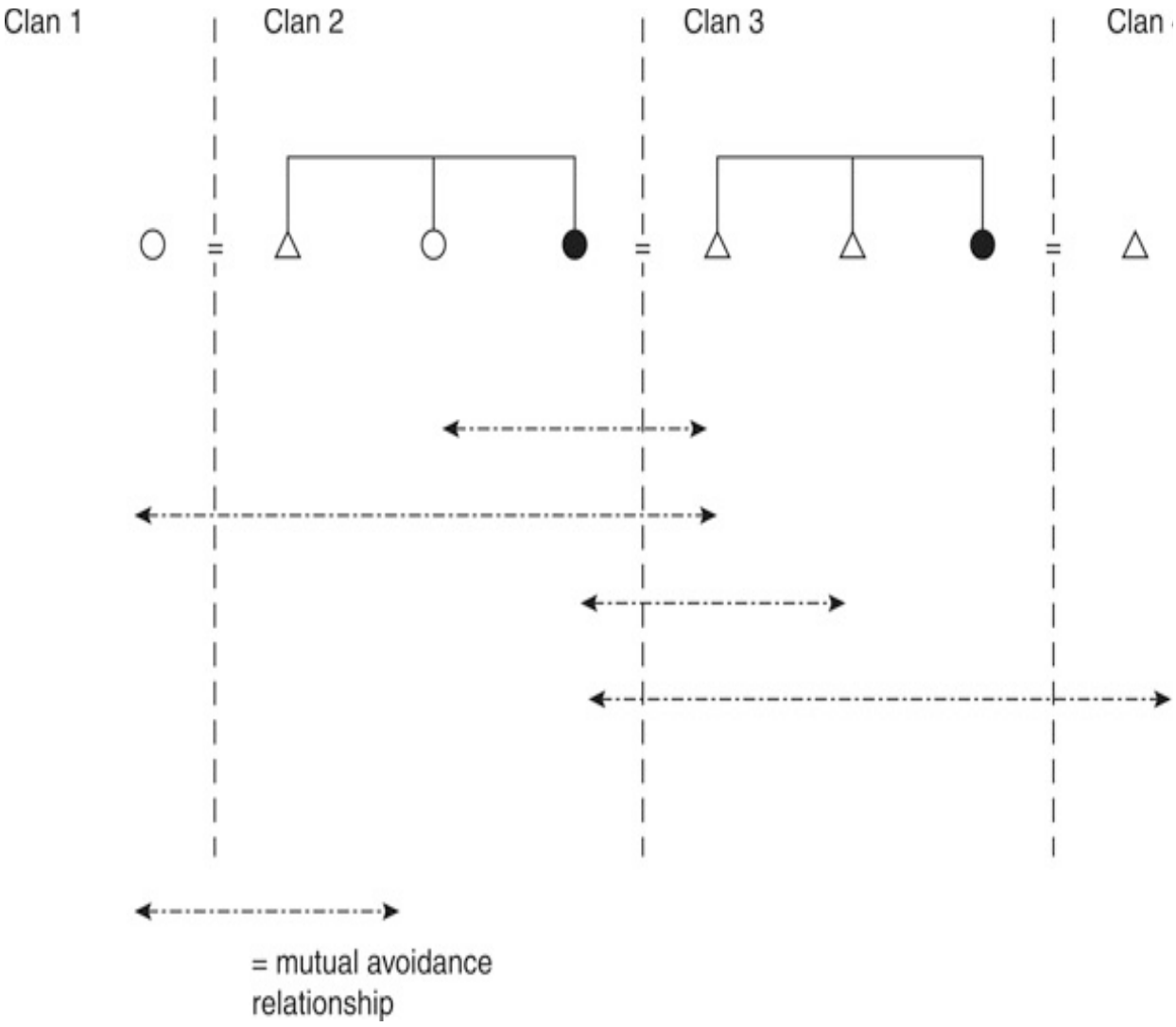


Figure 8.1 Mutual affinal avoidance relationships.

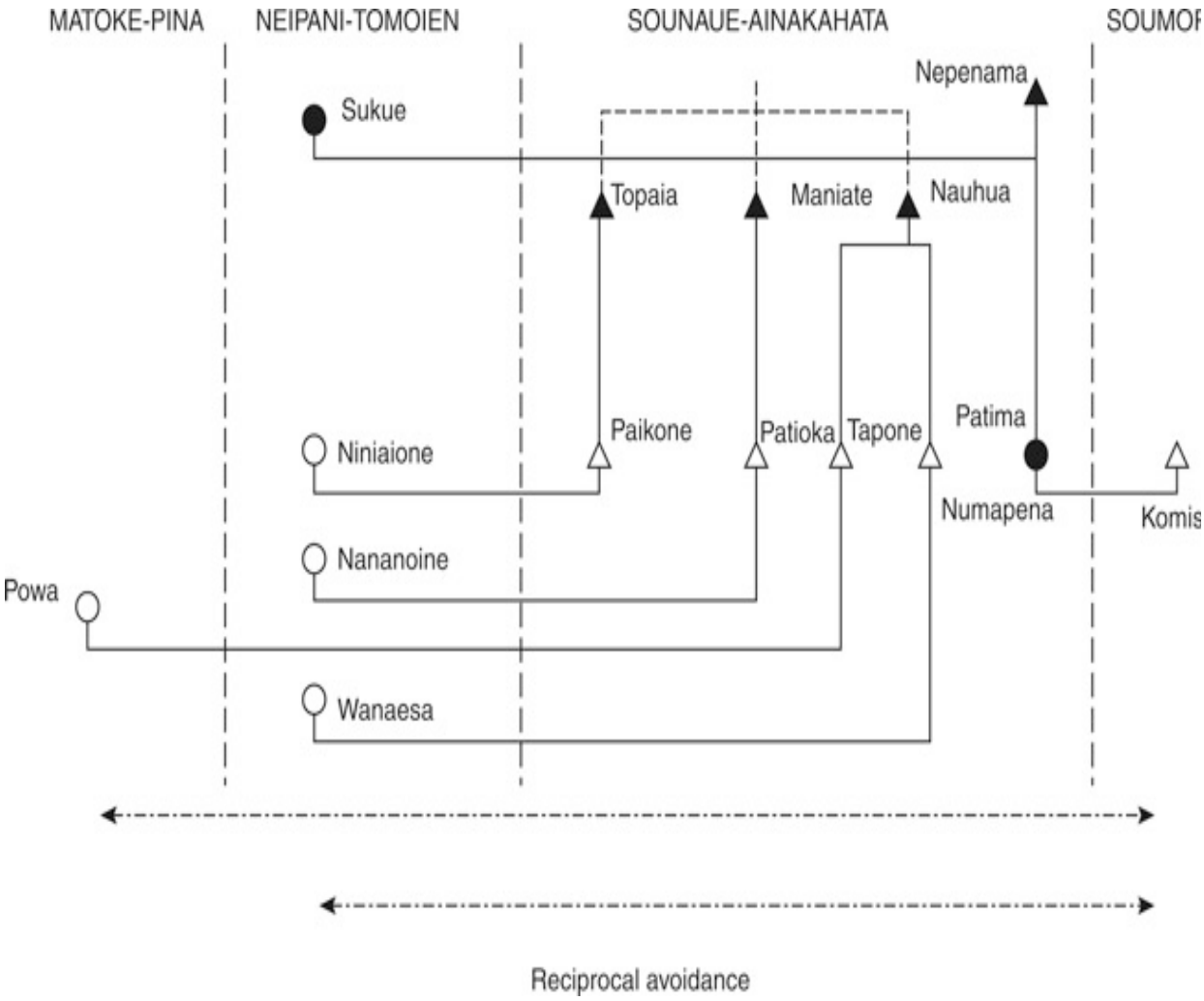


Figure 8.2 WBW avoidance relationships for Komisi Soumori, 1971.

The same prohibitions extend to a wife's brother's wife, and a husband's sister's husband. Thus, in Figure 8.2, we can see that Komisi Soumori must avoid passing near, talking with or sitting with the wives of Numapena, Tapone, Paikone and Patioka. If he sees these women in his pathway he must steer clear of them by at least six meters. If he does 'touch them or pass close to them' he must pay a fine of one small plate to the clan chief of the wife's clan. The avoidance relationship is mutual. All these women are ***sau monne*** and sexual relationships with them are prohibited. What all these behaviours regulating the relationship between affines have in common is that in terms of a bilateral model in which clans are directly or indirectly exchanging potential partners, they would be consanguinously related members of ego's own clan and therefore incestuous: a mother's sister might be expected to marry into the same clan as his mother, and therefore both

mother’s sister’s daughter and mother’s sister’s son are also of the same clan, and prohibited as mates. Similarly the wife’s brother’s wife of a male ego and the husband’s sister’s husband of a female ego would both be in ego’s own clan.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, ***sau monne*** is a reciprocal term for the ***susu*** (blood or genealogical relatives) of one’s opposite-sex spouse’s sibling: the rule accompanying it demands total avoidance. Although it applies both to parallel and cross-cousins as well as siblings, the taboo is weaker on cross-cousins than parallel cousins and siblings. A person is not permitted to speak to a ***sau monne***, other than softly and with respect, or loudly to others in his or her presence, or use or refer to their usual personal name. Distance must be kept, sitting for example at opposite ends of a house, they cannot be in the same house by themselves, or permitted to use the same plate, or chew leftover betel or food in case it is contaminated, to say each other’s names or words resembling them, or (formerly) to be in their shadow. The fine for infringement is a large plate and five meters of red cloth. Failure may result in the sickness or death of children, and collapse when carrying a heavy load.

Marital stability

Conflict between husband and wife (which in turn may reflect or motivate conflict between domestic groups, patrilines and clans of which they are members) threaten the effective reproduction of both clans and houses, especially when they occur before the birth of children. It is not, therefore, surprising that rules and sanctions exist to regulate it. Of the 257 married men in the Nuaulu kinship corpus, there were 30 records of second and subsequent marriages (11.67 percent). Of these, 11 marriages had ended through death of a wife, only three had been divorced, while I have no data on the reasons for termination in seven cases. Of the 257 records for married women in the corpus, there were 19 second and subsequent marriages reported (7.39 percent). The rate of remarriage is partly influenced by high rates of maternal death in childbirth, while it is possible that this has declined with the availability of improved health facilities, and divorce may have increased as a consequence of greater incorporation in the market,

education and expansion of Nuaulu social worlds generally. The termination of marriage through divorce is, however, not especially frequent in Nuaulu, though individual marital relationships can sometimes be turbulent, for a variety of reasons. This may partly be related to the size of marriage-wealth, the loss of which is a powerful disincentive. It is instructive to look at just one case here to see how it was handled. Marital disputes could be very public in Nuaulu villages of the 1970s: houses were close together and with flimsy thin walls of sago leafstalk.

Case 8.1

Waenisa Sounaue-ainakahata and his wife Hunanoene Soumori had been married for about 10 years when I first met them in 1970, and already had five children. One evening during February 1971 I was startled in my sleep around midnight by wailing, crying, shouting and screaming. I went outside and found a crowd of people had already gathered around Waenisa's house. It appeared that for much of the evening Waenisa had been with Komisi Soumori, his brother-in-law, but also head of the clan Soumori and government village head in Rouhua. Waenisa had plans to go out hunting, but his wife disapproved. While Waenisa was away in the ***numa onate***, his wife had left the house to defecate. While she was away Waenisa returned to find no one in the house and all the fresh food on the bamboo platform eaten by dogs. He was angry and after fetching a heavy length of wood stood guard over the door until his wife returned. When she reached the door, he hit her violently several times over the body. She fell and knocked her head against a large anvil stone. Getting up, she ran to the house of Komisi, her elder brother, where – not receiving the welcome she had hoped for – was again hit, this time by Komisi, for her negligence as a wife. Nevertheless, he gave her the protection of his house, as he was expected to as an elder brother.

The case illustrates the tension between Komisi's role as an elder brother and clan chief, and as a patriarch under social pressure to ensure that wives act with propriety and do not neglect their duties or responsibilities to husbands. All Hunanoene's children, upset by this episode, accompanied her to Komisi's house, and for about an hour cried continuously and inconsolably. There followed much verbal abuse between Waenisa's kin and the kin of Hunanoene, but what was striking about this dispute – and many like them – quite apart from the casual domestic violence it precipitated, was the immediate polarization of the parties involved along affinal and descent lines rather than on the basis of gender. At the end of February 1971 Hunanoene and the children were still living with Komisi, though eventually she returned to Waenisa, to whom she was still married in 2015.

Death and remarriage

Not only is it necessary to reinforce the boundaries between affinal and lineal relationships, but once affinal relations are established through marriage it is important for them to endure to reproduce the next generation and therefore the clan. Marriages end in two ways: through death of a spouse or through divorce. I have already indicated that divorce levels are low, but that second and further marriages due to the death of a wife (commonly in childbirth) are more frequent. There are various measures for ensuring the survival of a person to enable him or her to reproduce (medicinal or by consulting ancestral spirits, or some combination of the these – see Ellen n.d.), but if a person does die, then two clans have a conflicted interest in what happens next.

If a husband dies, a wife must return to her own clan, and any young children with her, until they are of an age when they can be fostered by a member of her late husband's clan. Where a widow with children remarries into a clan different from that of her first husband, that clan will generally seek payment of a porcelain plate and about 25,000 rupiah (in 1996). This is said to nullify the obligations to which she has been subject, and re-direct her to the new husband. However, since she has children, the ***nuhune*** continues to hold and is not revoked. If she does not have children, the authority of her dead husband's ***nuhune*** is revoked by her parents by giving her a metal wire anklet (***niti anae***) and a shell bracelet (***pinae***).

If a wife dies, it is usual for dependent children to remain in the care of one of the husband's brothers and his brother's wife. On the death of a spouse, and on completion of the expected mortuary rituals and customary period of mourning, a person must remain unmarried for at least a year. But if that person was to remarry after an interval of only one or two months, the kin of the first (dead) spouse would be justifiably annoyed and serious retaliatory measures might be taken. On the other hand, the clan of the widower has an interest in ensuring that remarriage happens as soon as possible. Death of women in childbirth was still quite common during the 1970s.

Divorce and remarriage

Divorce (***tihi***) is a threat to the safe reproduction of a clan if a woman is fecund, but a solution if she is barren. In the event of divorce a woman must return to her own clan and parental household. The position with regard to children is the same as if the husband has died. Naupate (later to become Nathanial) Matoke-pina divorced Usilo after only two years of marriage on the grounds that she wanted to live in Amahai and he preferred to live in his home village of Rouhua, an event that took place before the RMS troubles in the 1950s. After Usilo's death Nau-pate went on to marry three other women (Rimanasa Peinisa, who died in 1969 of malaria, Daucus Neipani who he eloped with and who subsequently divorced him, and finally Oune Lo, the daughter of a Chinese trader Willem Soo from Tehoru and Houa (Martha), the sister of Iako Matoke-pina, who was Matoke clan chief in Rouhua by 1970. Lo also divorced Nathanial, but thereafter continued to live alone in Rouhua until her death.

Of all marriages in the corpus for which I have data (257 individual male records), 27 were second marriages, three third marriages and one a fourth marriage. Of these an estimated third were divorces, and there were a few cases of divorced partners who had not remarried, usually women such as Oune Lo. Divorce, therefore, appears to be quite rare. This, of course, is the total corpus of marriage records available between 1960 and 2015 and does not indicate trends, and given a broad-based pyramidal demographic structure (see Chapter 9), these marriages are disproportionately those of younger people and relatively new unions.

On divorce not all gifts made on marriage are returned. As we saw in Chapter 6, in many cases marriage-wealth will not have been paid, or paid in full. Instead, depending on who is deemed the guilty party (and sometimes this must be established by consultation with clan chiefs or by a general consensus of opinion), a fine must be paid to the chief of the offended clan. The fine usually consists of one plate and one red cloth. If there are no children from the union, it is regarded as being worse for the man (for he has lost a bride and wasted his marriage-wealth). If there are children from the marriage, the woman is regarded as being worse off (as she has lost a husband as well as her children). If there is a divorce involving villages following different customary law relating to marriage, then a wife must accept the custom of her husband's village and clan.

Irregular marriages

Women are not formally permitted to have children before they are married, but it is common enough, and an unexpected pregnancy may lead to pressure to marry from the responsible male, and may be an argument for elopement. Children born outside a particular union are known as ***anahua*** (AM *anak luar*, 'outside children') and remain in the household of their mother's father, where they participate in the work expected of other children. In Niamonae and Hahualan from 1970 to 1971 there were a number of unmarried ***pinamou*** with children. Saite, the son of Patima Neipani-nesinopu in Hahualan had an unknown father. When Patima married Inane Matoke-pina, Saite retained his mother's clan name but resided in the house of his stepfather. The advantage of male offspring to unmarried mothers where the father in unknown or undeclared, is that they contribute to the clan and household of a mother rather than the father, not only materially, but in some cases may be a means of perpetuating a clan, sacred house or descent line where male offspring overall are in short supply. In 1971 a number of children were known to have been born to women already married to other men, but these generally followed the clan of their stepfather.

We have noted in Chapter 6 how there is a gradation of acceptable marriage arrangements, from the least acceptable (elopement), through marriages in which a couple lives uxorilocally, to marriages where there is an extended negotiation and all parties accept the outcome. As we have also seen, these latter are disproportionately likely to be cross-cousin marriages, though not exclusively. The gradation of acceptability is often determined by the ability or inability to pay marriage-wealth, but it may also hinge on the acceptability of a spouse: for example the person concerned may be an outsider, a Christian or a Muslim. In these cases the objection may be posed in terms of contravention of ***monne***. However, there are other kinds of marriage that are objected to on the grounds of contravention of ***monne***. One is where a male seeks to marry before having gone through a puberty ceremony, or as it is often put – before having received his ***karanunu*** (red head scarf). In order to rectify the error requires paying a fine in addition to going through the ceremony at the next available opportunity. Thus, Menai Sounaueainakahata had to pay a fine of one plate and one ***karanunu*** to Iako Matoke, the clan chief of his wife Patima (later to become Petronella), and one plate and one ***karanunu*** to the chief of Sounaue-ainakahata, his own

clan. Both payments were regarded as compensation for offences to both sets of clan ancestors. The structural problem highlighted here is that because puberty ceremonies are organized for a group of youths in a particular clan, elders are inclined to wait until there is a goodly number before making the quite considerable preparations involved (Ellen 2012: 134–5). This may mean that some males who are maturationally and sexually ready, and with identified female marriage partners, have to wait five or more years after a previous clan ceremony, which they may have missed because they were judged too young at the time. Menai fell into this category. In another high profile case, Kaisa Neipani-tomoien married Kemai Matoke-pina in 1973 before having gone through his ***matahenne***. Kaisa later claimed that he and Kemai had wanted to get married after his puberty ceremony, but that Neipani elders who disapproved of the union postponed the ceremony in an attempt to prevent the marriage. Neipani paid no marriage-wealth at the time, though the marriage was subsequently converted into an ***iae nisi pina*** union, and Kaisa was later to achieve prominence, first through his occupancy for a few years of the role of government headman in Rouhua following the death of Komisi Soumori, and more recently, his establishment of a new permanent settlement at Moni, which included moving the Neipani-tomoien ***kapitane*** sacred house, of which he had become the guardian, away from Rouhua.

In a contemporary context, it is difficult to imagine how the complementary problem might arise with girls – that they might seek to marry before they have gone through their puberty ceremony. Under present conditions they are under no clan or parental pressure to do so, and although girls regularly marry within a year of having gone through their puberty ceremony, menarche is relatively late by international standards, and – unlike boys – girls who reach it experience no delay in the completion of the ritual, other than the time it takes to prepare for the ceremonies. In the past there were additional delays associated with the status attached to a long period of first menses seclusion, but this would only be a matter of months. Nowadays, the needs of schooling and economic pressures to utilize an adolescent girl's labour also lead to shorter periods of seclusion. However, once out of the ***posune,*** girls may become sexually active.

The most heinous inappropriate relationship between a man and a woman, that subject to the most stringent social sanctions, is – as already explained – what other relatives of the party involved describe as ***sau monne***, and where sexual relations would be regarded as incestuous (***manu huae***). For a male

ego, this includes any females in his own clan, plus the following: M, MZ, MBD, MZD, MBW, WM, WZ, WBD, WZD and WBW; and for a female ego, all the males of her natal clan, plus MZS, HF, HB, HZS, HBS and HZH (Figure 8.3).

A *sau monne* violation

During late May 1970 Surita Matoke-pina and Asue Sounaue-ainakahata decided they wished to marry. Both had been widowed, but Asue's brothers (Menai, Paikone and Waenisa) did not approve of the union as Asue was in an avoidance (***sau monne***) relationship with Surita (Figure 8.4), who she called ***ukako***. The brothers of her deceased husband very much disapproved on the grounds that it would mean Surita marrying the sister of his first wife's deceased husband (Sokana), which is prohibited. Asue's kin asserted, moreover, that she already had too many children (she had six at that time, which by contemporary Nuaulu standards is quite normal), though this could not have been the primary objection. They were also angry because she had neglected young children who were still breastfeeding.

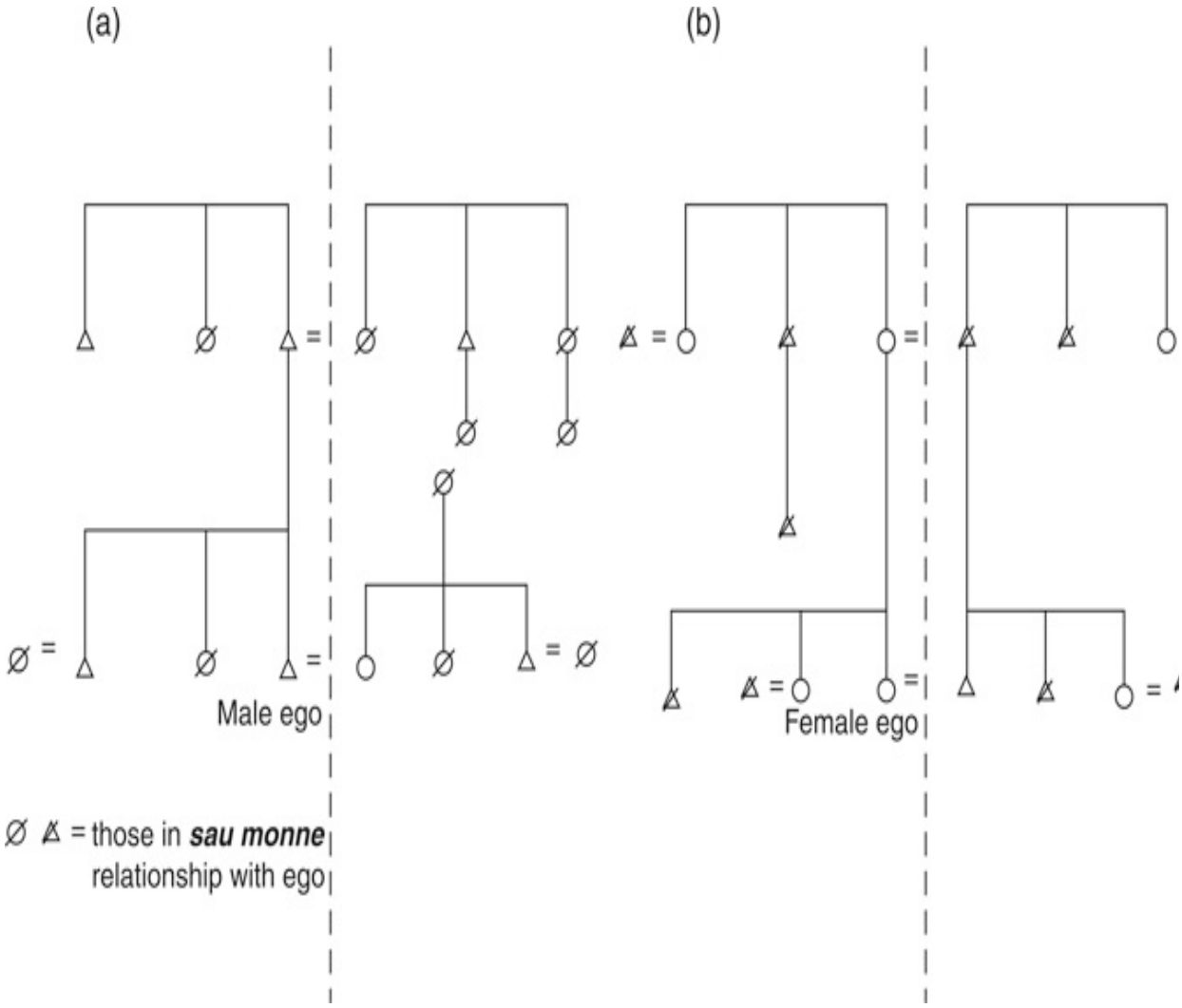


Figure 8.3 Genealogical relationships described by the term ***sau monne*** (incest): (a) prohibitions on females for male ego, (b) prohibitions on males for female ego.

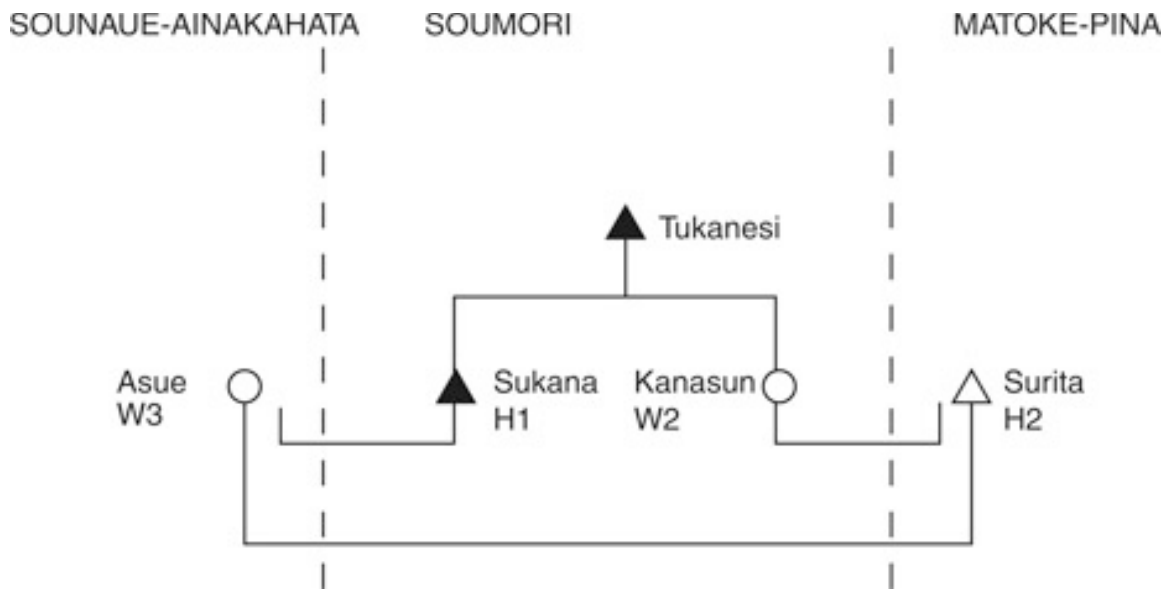


Figure 8.4 ***Sau monne*** relationship between Surita Matoke-pina and Asue Sounaueainakahata.

On 1 June Surita left the village around mid-afternoon saying that he was going to fetch a new ***haka*** (outrigger canoe) from Amahai. He had pre-arranged to meet Asue at a point outside the Rouhua village limit, and the latter contrived her exit via the mountain side of the settlement, along the dried bed of the Kamna Ukuna stream. About three hours later the couple was found to be missing. A hasty ***loue*** (a council of elders, most importantly in this case of all parties directly concerned) was called, and it was decided to send two men as far as Bunara, where it was believed the couple were resting with sympathetic kin. The two men concerned were Hotena Neipani-tomoien (the ***marinio***, or messenger) and Paikone Sounaueainakahata. They walked as far as Sepa where they discovered that the couple had stopped, and where Surita had bought some tobacco from the Chinese-owned store, and where he told people that he was going to Rutah, a village on the way to and near Amahai, where he had a brother (Teneam), and where he was to buy the ***haka***. Once it was discovered that the couple had already reached Rutah, the search party returned to Rouhua.

A few days later, in the late afternoon of 5 June, Surita and Asue returned together from Rutah and went directly to Surita's house. Their reception was cool and not even Sahune (Natunesi), Surita's son by Huasou, spoke to them. About an hour later Surita went to visit Komisi as village head (***ia onate ankarua***) to explain his absence. This proceeded calmly and although Komisi was a party to the dispute he had the difficult job of acting as an intermediary, a position he was in throughout the proceedings. Lihuta, the

adopted son (***apiara***) of Surita, had left for his gardens prior to the meeting, to avoid involving himself in what was to follow. About an hour later Tapone, the chief of the clan Sounaue-ainakahata, armed with a piece of sago leafstalk, and accompanied by two women, went to Surita's house. Immediately, the women shot accusative questions at him concerning his activities and began hitting him. He resisted and ran into the house. Tapone entered after him and struck him several violent blows on the body and over the head. Other kin of Asue then entered the fray – Paikone, Patiraia, Naunepe, Mosone – and took hold of him and in turn beat him and kicked him, inflicting several deep wounds. Asue was also flung to the ground and kicked, and beaten with a piece of sago leafstalk wrenched from the wall of the house. Surita tried to protect her but by this time was dazed. He bolted through the back of the house and along the beach pursued by a number of Asue's kin, but managed to out-distance them and escape. Meanwhile, several other neutral parties entered the scene – Kotahatu and Eli – who tried to restrain those involved, but who in turn got mixed up in the general melée. Komisi continued to maintain an uneasy neutrality, conflicted by his role as village head and a close relative in the dispute. He neither restrained the parties nor involved himself. By this time the Soumori and Sounaue participants, especially the latter, had worked themselves into such a frenzy that they began to run amok. The women paced round the house hurling abuse at Surita personally, and at Soumori and Matoke relatives generally, breaking down the walls of the house, destroying a clove seedling nursery, slashing at banana plants with parangs, and hurling items of property into the sea and onto the beach. The aggrieved parties walked right round the house several times uttering curses invoking the wrath of the ancestors, accusing Surita of the sexual behaviour of a dog, of bestiality – uttering phrases which constantly alluded to his filthiness. Not content with their action against Surita's house, they turned their attention to the houses of other Matoke and Soumori people, pacing round the village in a trance-like fashion, legs and arms stiff and eyes fixed, screaming, screeching and continuing to utter oaths.

During all of this Asue had managed to flee with her youngest child, first to the house of a clan not caught up in the conflict, and thereafter to nearby forest on the fringe of the village. Here she tried to hide, only to be pursued by the same women who had attacked the house, who clawed at her and abused her verbally. Eventually Asue managed to make her get-away, although Napuae went after her with a parang. The women continued their

invective for about another hour – their voices screeching out of the darkness as they paced round the village: ‘Bitch, breaker of ***monne***, the ancestors will kill you for this. You copulate like a dog, get back to your mother’s uterus with the filth of your kin… you have offended the ancestors of Soumori, Sounaue and Matoke – bitch, get out of this place!… bitch, incestuous bitch!’ They continued to hurl abuse… ***aiu pesigi sau monne*** … ‘throw out the incestuous one… keep to the ***posune*** (menstruation hut) you filthy woman’.

In the evening the key Sounaue and Soumori clan members discussed what was to be done, deep into the night. At the same time, there was no abating the anger of the women who had been rampaging earlier during the day. They cut down more of Surita’s banana plants, continued wrecking the house and strewing his property about the place. Papite Sounaue-ainakahata was the central female character orchestrating this destructive frenzy, closely connected to both parties involved, the sister of Tapone, the chief of Sounaue-ainakahata in Rouhua, part of a strong descent line serially married into Matoke-pina through her father, great-grandfather and also through her own marriage. During the night Surita and Asue and the child camped out in the forest in a hastily erected bivouac. It was raining heavily. Saniau, his son by his first wife Huasou, and his own daughter Aharena, took them food but returned the following morning. Meanwhile, Napuae was still on the rampage. When he went to the water conduit to bathe, he found Waenisa and Tapone and struck them both. He says he also wants to get his own back on Papite, Sanakamura and Hananona, as it was they who had inflicted severe wounds to Asue’s head and body. ‘Even if it was incest – and it wasn’t – the punishment was too much.’

The next day was characterized by a further exchange of verbal abuse, personal violence and accusations, especially between women from the two opposed Matoke and Sounaue factions. Waenisa went round giving karate-like punches (***pulunopa/pukunga***) at Surita’s banana plants, felling them with a single blow. Pereela – Surita’s younger sister – was encouraging physical attacks on the key female players from Sounaue – Papite and Sanakamura – and making other threats and accusations: ‘***hitae, ooo… hitanea*** … strike her, strike her… ***sau monne auma***… oh, the shame (***aumaa***) of incest… ***hitao matae***… strike her until she is dead.’ Other Sounaue women shouted ‘***hokai hari hon numa***!… get out of the house, we do not want you, you are dirt.’ Patiraia said that if she had been any younger Asue would have deserved mutilation with a parang. The sense of collective

aggression was palpable, even being taken out on uninvolved third parties such as beating children and dogs.

Later in the day some of the main actors – Sahune, Papite, Sanakamura, Hananona and Waenisa, together with Komisi and Alewa, went to see 'Veteran' (an ex-soldier) in Sepa who they hoped might be able to mediate. Meanwhile, back in Rouhua, as a curse (***topate***) had been placed on Surita's house, all the contents were now transferred to the house of Tuane Neipani, Pereela's husband. Having been hounded out of the village, Surita's house was razed to the ground by angry relatives of Asue.

By nightfall the party that had sought advice in Sepa had returned. A decision had been reached, not on the interpretation of *adat*, but on a way of restraining the warring clans. It had been agreed that all the main Matoke-pina protagonists should be segregated in Bunara, where they would remain for three months. There was a clan meeting of Matoke elders to decide if this outcome would be acceptable, and it was agreed that only Surita, Asue, his sons Sahune and Saniau, and Saniau's daughters Aharena and Salehuta should move, and then to Niamonae rather than to Bunara. Sounaue-ainakahata accepted the arrangement. After three months Surita and Asue would be allowed to return to Rouhua as man and wife. Fines would be payable by Surita on his return to Rouhua: one red cloth and one plate to the Sounaue-ainakahata clan sacred house and its guardian Tapone, in compensation for the ***sau monne*** violation; and one red cloth and one plate to the chief of Matoke-pina, plus any marriage-wealth due to the family of Asue. When I suggested that various siblings of the parties involved might still object, Komisi said that he would take care of matters (using the Indonesian verb *mengurus*). In addition, Surita paid a fine to Komisi in his capacity as village headman, of two medium-sized plates and two red cloths. The fine was paid by Iako as clan chief of Matoke, but Surita – as the offender – delivered it to Komisi.

A *sau monne* marriage – an interpretation

The overall genealogical context for the dispute described in the previous section is shown in Figure 8.5. Sexual intimacy between close in-laws is expressly forbidden, as Asue is in an ***uka*** relationship with Surita. On the

other hand, while elopement as a practice is formally discouraged, it is often informally encouraged and widely accepted. In this case, however, the situation was complicated by the fact that both Surita and Asue had been married previously, twice in the case of Surita and once in the case of Asue. This inevitably drew more clans into the frame, but because of previous histories of clan intermarriage connecting the four clans involved, just how to interpret the rules was not at all clear. Most of the parties involved agreed with Komisi when he opined that this elopement was contrary to ***monne***, and that the ancestors had been much angered. It is possible to make a symbolic elopement, say to the gardens, stay overnight and then return to the village, but the ***ia onate aia*** (a term used for the most senior Nuaulu secular authority) must be told. There must be an indication (***kakinate***) that this is about to happen, or a message from the ancestors in the sense of an omen (***makikiate***) that it is permissible.

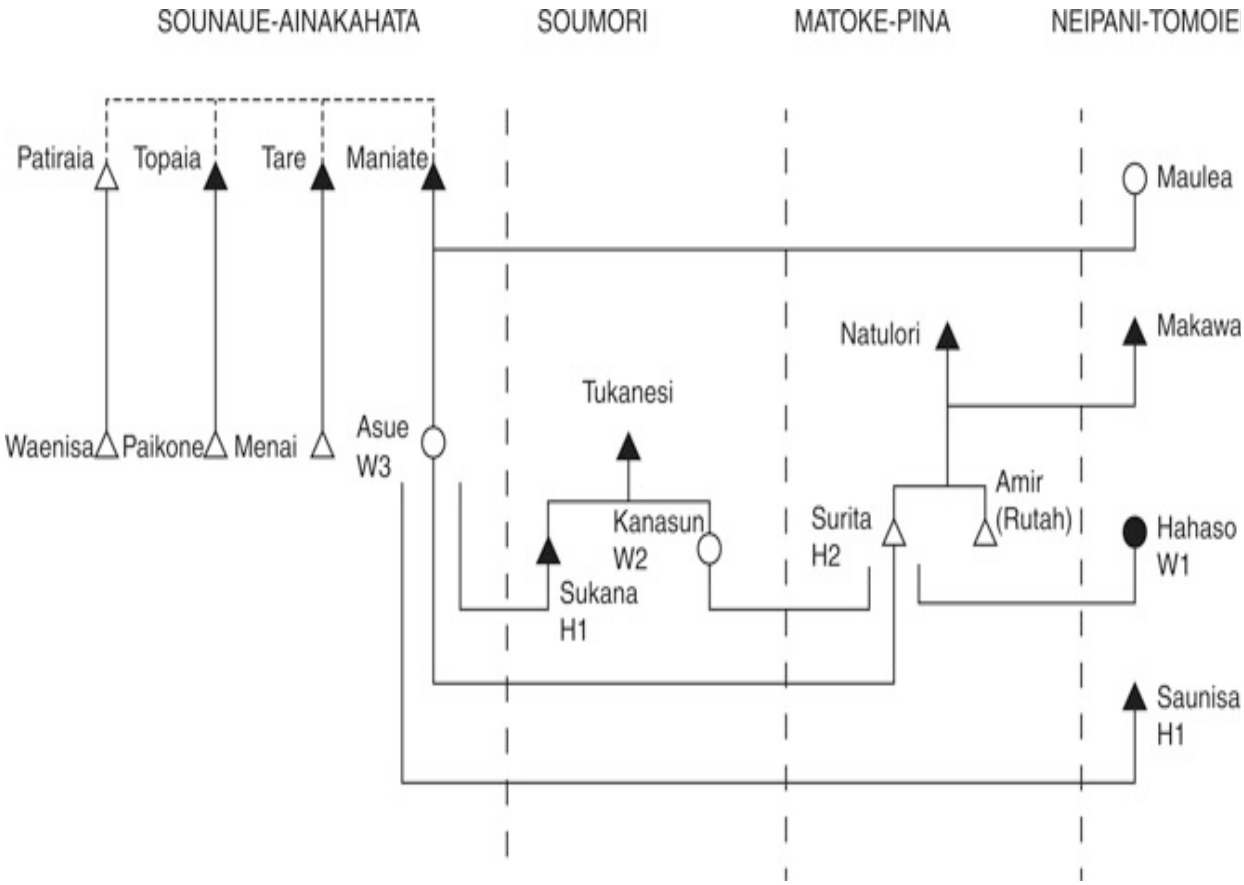


Figure 8.5 Clan and genealogical relationships providing context for the behaviour of various individuals following the elopement of Surita Matoke-pina and Asue Sounaue-ainakahata, 1971.

The problem in this dispute stemmed from the rule accepted by all traditional-ist Nuaulu, that if either a husband or wife dies they are allowed to enter into a sororal union (where a man marries his dead wife's sister) or a leveritic union (where a man marries his dead brother's wife). Despite this, there appears to be no preference and certainly no prescription in its application (Figure 8.6). If, on the death of either a husband or a wife, a suitable affine of the same generation is available, it will very often be seen as the most sensible union to enter into, as it requires no new affinal links and both individuals will already be familiar with relationships and expectations between the two alliance groups (wife-takers and wife-givers). Such marriages emphasize the notion that marriage is with a group rather than with an individual. Sororal marriage reflects the fact that marriage-wealth paid should be reciprocated, and that if a woman dies – especially before bearing children – the reciprocity has not been fulfilled. However, in this particularly entangled case there was an overlap between acceptable leveritic and sororal unions and those regarded as incestuous, because of the previous marriages of both Surita and Asue. Though unusual, the advantage of both arrangements is that they reinforce both sibling solidarity and affinal alliance (c.f. Hagen 2006: 111).

Depending on the genealogical and classificatory affiliations of the persons involved, this dispute is interpreted differently. Certain groupings within clans – but not all – are aligning themselves in opposition: the descendants of Surita's father on the one hand, and the Sounaue-ainakahata group comprising Waenisa, Tapone, Paikone and Patioka on the other. Note that Iako was not a party to the dispute even though he is chief of the Matoke-pina clan in Rouhua, and neither was Nohia or Hatarai on the Sounaue side, both of who maintained an uneasy neutrality. Formally speaking, a man is not allowed to marry the wife of his first wife's brother, even though he may marry the sister of his dead wife. From one point of view while it is possible to marry a dead husband's brother or a dead wife's sister, if that person is also connected through some other route to ego it can look very different. In this case, Kanasun, Surita's second wife was not dead, though she had no children. Asue had been previously married to Sokana (and who by 1970 was dead), whose elder brother is Retaone, and whose younger sister was Kanasun, previously married to Surita. By marrying a wife's brother's wife or a husband's sister's husband, you are potentially marrying someone from your own clan (and someone who you would usually address using a ***sau monne*** term). However, in this case Matoke

considered that the relationship was not incestuous, since Kanasun had no children by Surita. Some – such as Pereela Matoke-pina – concede that while their brother Surita might have acted improperly in certain respects, this was no reason ‘to accuse all Matoke of being incestuous, and filthy as well.’ However, as Sahune noted, most of the abuse and rough handling came in for Asue. Surita’s first wife Hahaso Soumori subsequently married another Matoke-pina husband Teneam (who had converted to Catholicism as Paulus), and who at the time of the dispute was living in Amahai. What we have here is, therefore, despite all the evidence for there being a relaxed approach to the contradictions and inconsistencies between terminology, rules and marriage practice, an ambiguity between genealogical and classificatory incest, which one party interpreted leniently in line with usual Nuaulu customary practice, but which the other party interpreted more strictly due to other conflicts between the clans.

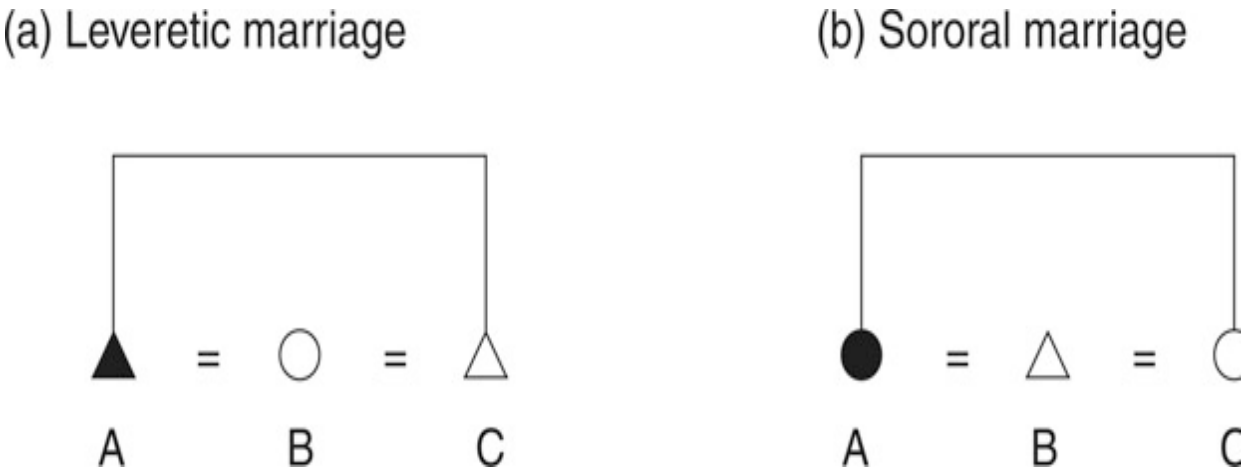


Figure 8.6 Leveritic and sororitic marriage compared.

Coda

Towards the end of March 1981 I learned from Andrew Sol, the Catholic bishop of Amboina, that the mission in Masohi had received a young girl from Rouhua who was the product of an ‘incestuous union’ (AM *anak sumbang*). She was battered around the head and was clearly being neglected. The bishop showed me a photograph of the mother, who looked like Surita’s third wife, Asue. The girl may – in fact – have been Surita’s

daughter. She remained in Ambon, happy if mentally retarded. Kanasun, who married Paulus Matoke and converted to Christianity as Liesbeta, moved to the Christian Nuaulu settlement at Wae Pia in the 1980s.

We can see from the case examined in this chapter that clan exogamy is extended as an incest prohibition to the offspring of women marrying out of the clan. These women, though in many respects still bound to their father's clan, as well exemplified by the Surita affair, are difficult to mobilize if they are in another village. It is said that formerly – when clans were dispersed throughout the interior and engaged in mutual hostilities – intra-clan marriage was possible as men were often afraid of the work involved in taking a bride from another clan. Even if this is a mythologized version of history, it reveals a vital understanding, namely that such marriages were not regarded as incestuous, as they were between distantly related clan segments, and that there is a difference between a classifica-tory relationship and a genealogical relationship, even though the words used to describe the relationship are the same. The case of the Nahatue clan provides an interesting insight here, since as we saw in Chapter 2, it has historically moved from being an independent clan (able to marry persons from Neipani-tomoien and Neipani-nesinopu) to being a sub-clan of Neipani (where marriages with these sub-clans became prohibited).

To summarize: rules regulating the acquisition of spouses are of three kinds: (1) those defining marriageable and unmarriageable categories, (2) those defining persons with whom sexual relations are prohibited, and (3) those governing rights to bestow females or males in marriage and the rights to claim them. Category (1) rules we usually call exogamy, and category (2) rules incest prohibitions. Robin Fox (1967) reminds us that these are often seen as indicating an axiomatic difference between sex and marriage. In the Nuaulu case, however, there seems to be some blurring. Strikingly, the category of prohibition is always considerably larger than the category of permissibility. Moreover (3), the father, mother's brother and elder brother of a woman have a right to bestow her on a person of their choice within the eligible category, while certain males have stronger claims to certain available females, typically the claim on a MBD or MMBD, and certain females stronger claims to certain available males, typically the claim on a FZS or FFZS. All these factors constrain bestowers and seekers of partners. Thus, a person's reproductive success can be affected by kinship position as well as demographic accident, but flexibility in applying the rules can mitigate this. Despite the complications in the case discussed in this chapter,

and despite the faux anger surrounding elopement because it challenges the fundamental necessity for organization and control of reproductive activity, in the bigger picture the existence of marriage norms are respected and supported by supernatural sanctions, the highest possible and most general regulators of social action (Rappaport 1971), because their net effect is to reduce conflict rather than the reverse.

9
Demography, change and social reproduction

Prologue

In Chapter 5 I described a Soumori ritual (***makahane sihuru***) for women who have married into the clan. I did so to make a technical point about the transfer of personal names. A performance of this ritual that I had witnessed in 1970 involved just one woman, who had received her ***nasa*** – a decorated conical hat that she had made herself from pandanus leaves – from the Soumori clan chief, at that time Komisi. Soumori women, and the wives of those marrying Soumori men, have to cover their head at all times when venturing outside a house, out of respect for the ancestors. Although most of the time, a cloth or towel is adequate for this purpose, particularly on ceremonial occasions the ***nasa*** must be worn. In April 2015 I was able to witness the same ritual (Figure 9.1). On this occasion it was combined with the ceremony for installing sacra in a new clan house, led by Komisi's lineal successor, his eldest son Mosone. At this event 17 women received their ***nasa***. Although the numbers were inflated due to deferment of the ritual over a number of years, it demonstrated to me vividly the dramatic increase in the size of the clan, and in particular its ability to recruit women through marriage. This must have been part of the same effect it had on those who participated and observed it.

Demographic change, settlement growth and the conditions of resilience

At the time of my first fieldwork in 1970–71, there was every prospect that Nuaulu ritual traditions, and therefore their core identity, were on the brink of collapse. However, as the case just described suggests (and despite the factors adumbrated in previous chapters and which will be elaborated upon later in this chapter – massive in-migration, extensive deforestation and steady religious conversion), this has not happened. Why? How can we account for such resilience? In order to answer this question, at least as far as

the performance of ritual was concerned, I embarked in 2001 on a project that culminated in the publication of *Nuaulu Religious Practices*. In that book I tried to show how demography impacts on the performance of ritual. I argued that the low demographic strength of key age and gender cohorts within particular groups had been a source of weakness, and

Figure 9.1 Women parading with their new ***nasa*** following a ceremony for in-marrying women in the newly-constructed ***numa onate*** Soumori, Rouhua April 2015.

led to the extinction of certain rituals due to the inability of the performing units to conduct them given inadequate knowledge and personnel, and indeed in some cases the extinction of ritual-performing units themselves. Countering this tendency, however, had been the ability of other clans, through population growth, to increase the frequency of rituals and the number of persons involved in them, as well as the ability to materially resource rituals, and therefore to more effectively reproduce cycles and social groups.

The period 1970–80 saw the first major influx of incomers to Seram through both spontaneous and government-planned programmes of

transmigration. By the early 1980s this was opening up, in particular, the lower reaches of the Ruatan and Nua valleys to local migrants from Ambon-Lease and from other parts of the Moluccas, with the migrant economy becoming important for the Amahai sub-district as a whole. In addition, there was much in-migration of non-local Butonese to the Sepa area, and of voluntary movement of Nuaulu to the trans-migration zone, first to Kilo Sembilan (Simalouw, 1983) and then Kilo Duabelas (Tahena Ukuna, 1988) (Table 9.1). By 1990 the new settlements had been consolidated and stabilized, and their inhabitants had already come to rely on newly built sacred houses and locally resident clans for the performance of ritual. They were interdependent, yet continuing to assert a theoretical autonomy.

The population of the island of Seram doubled between 1970 and 2000. The percentage increase at all levels of administrative inclusion, including the Nuaulu as a whole, is all broadly proportionate (Ellen 2012: 292). In 1970 – at the time of my first fieldwork – south coast Nuaulu numbered 496; by 2000 the population of animists alone had virtually tripled. Since 2000 the population has increased still further. In 2010, the population of Rouhua was 387 (178 males, 209 females), Bunara 247 (91 males, 156 females), Watane (Latan) and Hahualan 104 (45 males, 59 female) and Simalouw 105 (44 males, 61 females). The *desa* of Sepa as a whole, which at that time all these settlements were still part of, is recorded as having a total population of 10, 596 (Sensus Penduduk Desa Sepa 2010). In 2012 Nuanea was established as a separate *desa* (incorporating the Nuaulu population of Simalouw). At this time its population was recorded as being 446 (233 male and 213 females (Kantor Nuanea figures), though probably incorporating some non-Nuaulu residents. In 2013 Nuanea is reported as having a population of 400 (209 males, 191 females) living in 79 households (Amahai Dalam Angka 2014: 18–19). Figures for the Nuaulu settlements in the *desa* of Sepa recorded in 2015 give Bunara 80 households and 300+ people, and Niamonae (combining Watane and Hahualan) 78 households and 266+ individuals. The 2015 population for Rouhua was said to be 1001 (Source: *kepala dusun*, Son Matoke), including Butonese settlers and the inhabitants of the new settlement at Moni, where there are now 34 households and – I extrapolate – a population of about 170. I would estimate that the total Nuaulu animist population in 2015 comprised in excess of 2000 individuals distributed between six settlements in the sub-district of Amahai (Figure 2.4). In addition, Christian Nuaulu live in Wae Pia (in the TNS sub-district)

and at Rouhua Baru near Waraka, following the communal conflict of 1999–2002, and in Hatuheno. Although there has been a steady rate of conversion

Table 9.1 Populations of different Nuaulu settlements, indicating establishment, abandonment and inter-settlement mobility

Administrative unit	*Local settlement*	*Year*											
		1971	*1973*	*1975*	*1981*	*1986*	*1990*	*1996*	*2001*	*2010*	*2012*	*2013*	*201*
Niamonae (Nuaulu Lama)		166	–	–	–	–	–	150	365	104	–	–	26
	Watane	*61*	–	–	–	–	–	*75*	*185*	–	–	–	–
	Aihisuru	*44*	–	–	–	–							
	Hahualan	*61*	–	–	–	–	–	*75*	*180*	–	–	–	–
Bunara		150	–	–	–	–	–	325	455	247	–	–	30
Rouhua [includes Moni]		180	–	–	–	218	–	410	624	387	–	–	10(
Ruatan settlements [from 2012 Nuanea]		–	–	–	–	–	242	242+	–	446	–	621	–
	Simalouw (Kilo Sembilan)			–	–	–	–	–	*105*	–	–	–	–
	Tahena Ukuna (Kilo Duabelas)					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total		496	544	575	747	744	1256	1127	1686+	–	–	–	21

Figures are taken from field censuses conducted in 1971 and 1986, official local census data held in Sepa, Watane, Rouhua and Nuanea, figures in unpublished pape by Rosemary Bolton, plus estimates by village headman. Especially for recent years, data from different sources are sometimes inconsistent and unreliable. Where da are contradictory or doubtful, I have provided estimates based on my own direct assessment. Part of the difficulty lies in separating Nuaulu in the strict sense from oth inhabitants.

Note: – indicates habitation at named settlement location for a particular year where figures are unavailable; + indicates 'in excess of'.

to both Christianity and Islam since 1970, the number of practicing animists has actually increased along with the overall population. Nuaulu population growth can be attributed to a combination of rising fertility and decreasing mortality due to improved medical attention.[1]

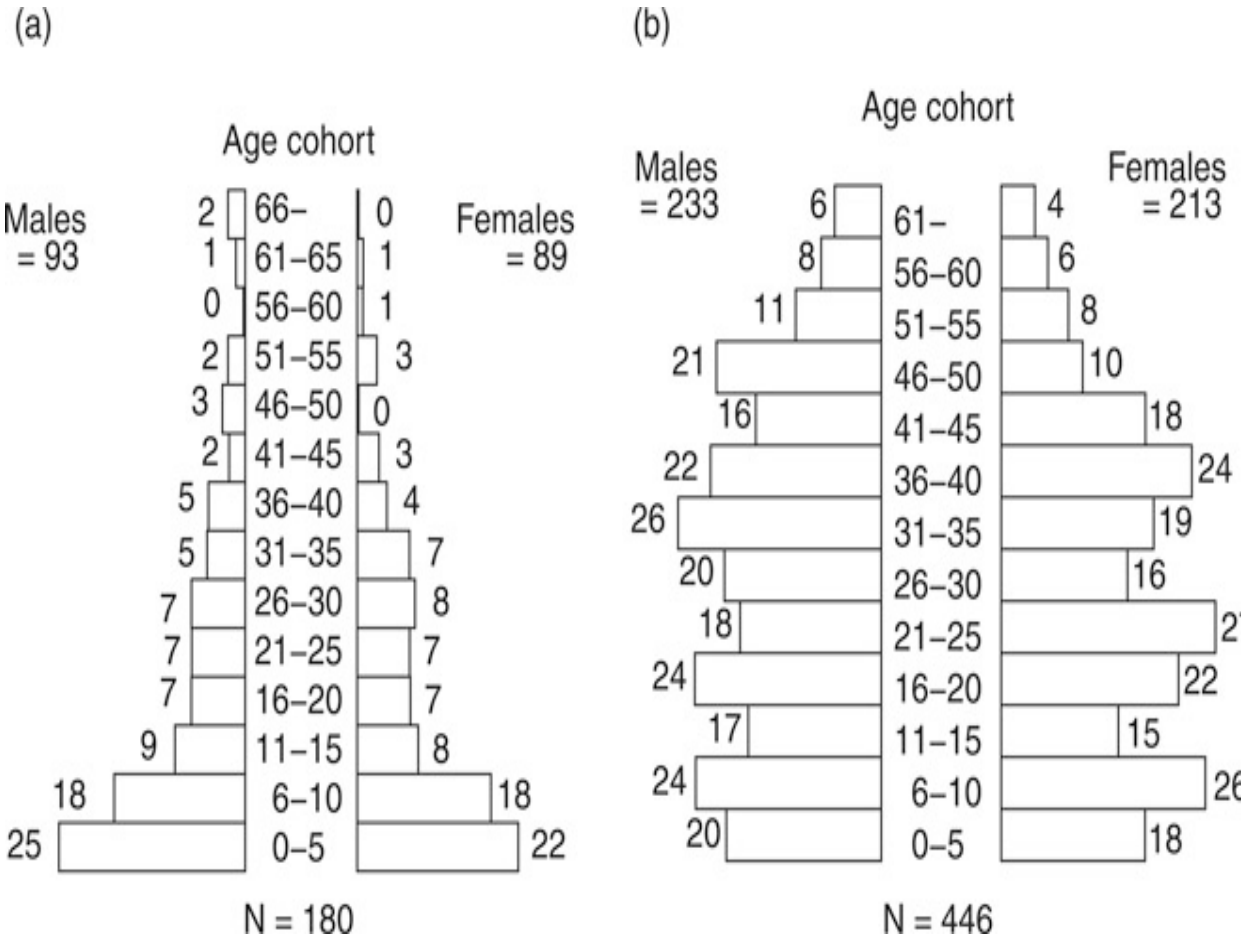


Figure 9.2 Comparison of age and sex structure for (a) Rouhua (1971) and (b) Nuanea (2012).
Source: (a) Ehlers (1978: 22–8); (b) Resusun (2012), based on data provided by Kantor Negeri Nuanea.

By 2012 not only had the overall level of population risen sharply, but the shape of the population had changed as well. Figure 9.2 compares the age and sex profile of Rouhua in 1971 with that for Nuanea in 2012. In 1971 fertility was beginning to rise and factors promoting longevity were yet to become evident, reflected in the pyramidal shape. The 2012 profile is less pyramidal, with relatively little difference between the sexes, and with the contrast between youngest and oldest cohorts decreasing. This in part reflects the process of resettlement itself, and the special factors relating to the households moving from the old Sepa settlements to the Ruatan transmigration zone; but it also suggests that growth was beginning to slow down overall, but with fewer infant deaths. If we were to compare the 1971 and 2012 age-sex profiles for Rouhua alone, I suspect the contrast would be less extreme, but by contrasting Rouhua in 1971 with Nuanea in 2012 we exaggerate in a way that interestingly highlights the very different circumstances of the two settlements.

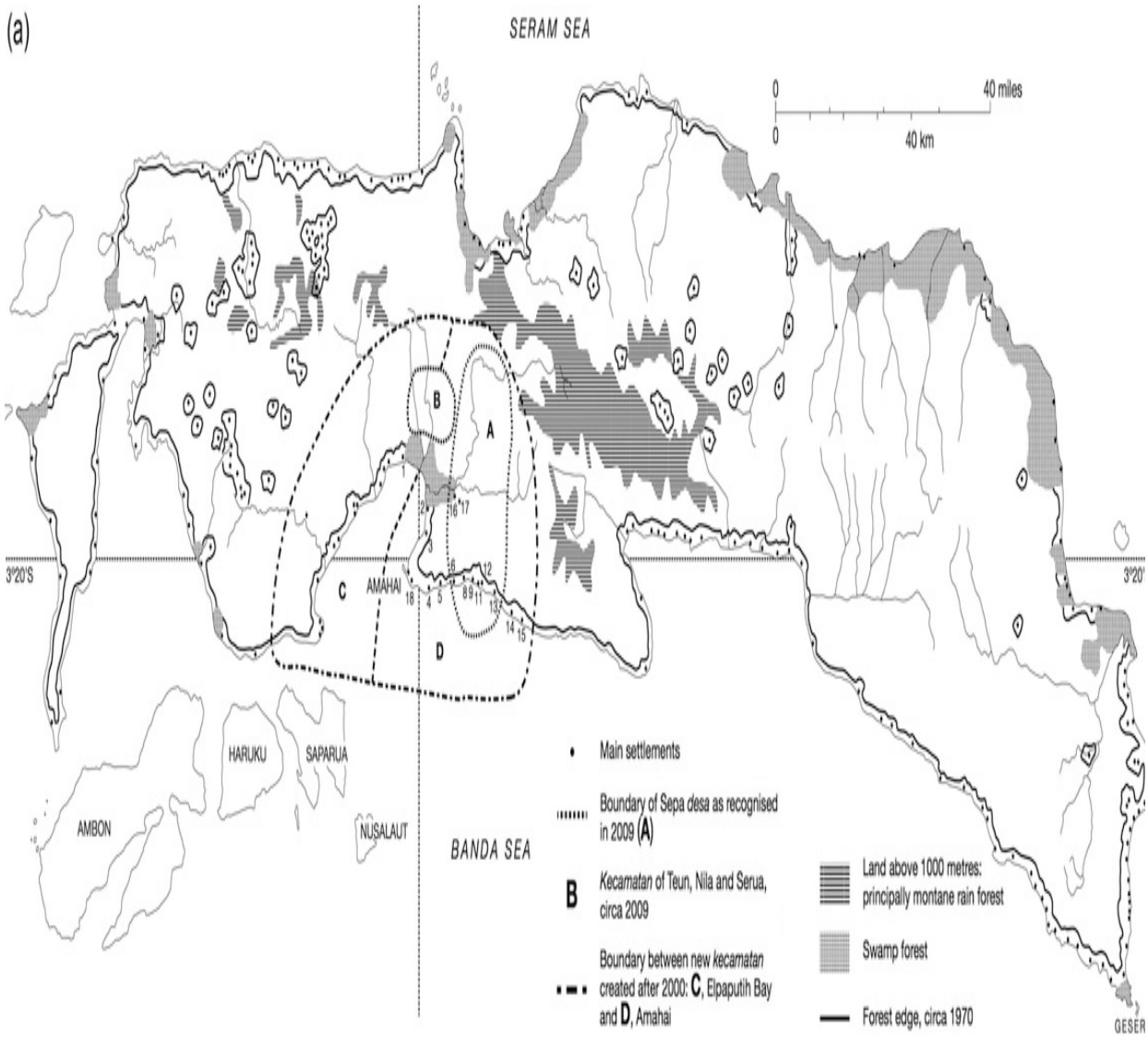
Nuanea redux: administrative and political changes

The demographic changes just described underpinned all other changes taking place during the last three decades of the twentieth century in south-central Seram, and must surely have been the most significant driver of much else besides. But the fortunes of the Nuaulu were also reflected in the complex alterations to administrative boundaries that occurred after 1998 (the year in which the Suharto regime was overthrown), and also the communal conflict between mainly Christians and Muslims (1999–2003) that propelled events thereafter. In this latter (called euphemistically in Indonesian, the *Kerusuhan*, 'the unrest') the Nuaulu were inevitably entangled, through kinship links and spatial proximity, some fleeing to the highlands, and suffering some collateral damage in the form of destroyed sacred houses. After the disturbances there were rapid attempts to restore normality, in part drawing on shared Moluccan *adat*. Thus, by 2014 the sub-district (*kecamatan*) of Seram Selatan had been divided into two: Elpaputih Bay, to the West and as far east as the Nua river; and Amahai, from the Nua eastwards and including all the new transmigration zone settlements along the Ruatan, and along the south coast as far as Tamilouw and the boundary with the Tehoru sub-district. By 2014 the Amahai sub-district included the following *desa*: Banda Baru, Yafila, Holo, Makariki, Sehati, Haruru, Amahai, Soahuku, Rutah, Sepa, Tamilouw, Yainuelo, Nuelitetu, Hatuheno, in addition to the district (*kabu-paten*) capital of Masohi, and a new exclusively Nuaulu *desa* of Nuanea (Amahai Dalam Angka 2014: 19) (Figure 9.3).

The Nuaulu had long sought autonomous governance, and historically relations with Sepa had often been difficult. Moreover, under the New Order of the 1970s and 1980s they had been designated a *suku* (later *masyarakat*) *terasing* ('remote people'), alternatively a KAT (*komunitas adat terpencil*: an 'isolated adat community'). Although this gave them access to special development programmes, the material assistance was slight and often came with complications and restrictions. The designation and derogatory status of *suku yang masih dibelakang* ('backwards tribes') fostered marginalization, hampered their political objectives and undermined their own view that they were perfectly capable of administering themselves. The physical movement of Nuaulu households to two settlements in the Ruatan transmigration zone

in the 1980s provided an opportunity for Nuaulu to progress this agenda. Although the new settlements of Kilo Sembilan and Kilo Duabelas (Simalouw and Tahena Ukuna, respectively) were technically still part of the Sepa *desa*, the development of the zone as a whole was under district and provincial control. Despite improvements in communication, Sepa was a long way from the new settlements and administration was difficult. To an extent Nuaulu in the zone had already achieved de facto separation, to some extent reflected in the disputes between Nuaulu and migrants that led to the re-emergence of head-taking in the 1990s (Ellen 2002). However, what really provided the potential for further autonomy was the tri-crisis of 1998, the overthrow of Suharto and the policy of administrative devolution, in particular the 'involution' (Schulte Nordholt and van Klinken 2007: 19) that ensued, with opportunities to empower those at the grass roots.

Under Suharto's New Order, Nuaulu had struggled to find a place, and to achieve recognition for their traditional practices, within the context of Pancasila, and the government's ideological programme for development. In this, Nuaulu were not alone amongst Indonesian cultural minorities (e.g. George 1996:


(a)
SERAM SEA
0
40 miles
0
40 km
3°20'S
3°20'
A
B
C
D
AMAHAI
HARUKU
SAPARUA
NUSALAUT
AMBON
BANDA SEA
GESER
Main settlements
Boundary of Sepa desa as recognised in 2009 (A)
B
Kecamatan of Teun, Nila and Serua, circa 2009
Boundary between new kecamatan created after 2000: C, Elpaputih Bay and D, Amahai
Land above 1000 metres: principally montane rain forest
Swamp forest
Forest edge, circa 1970

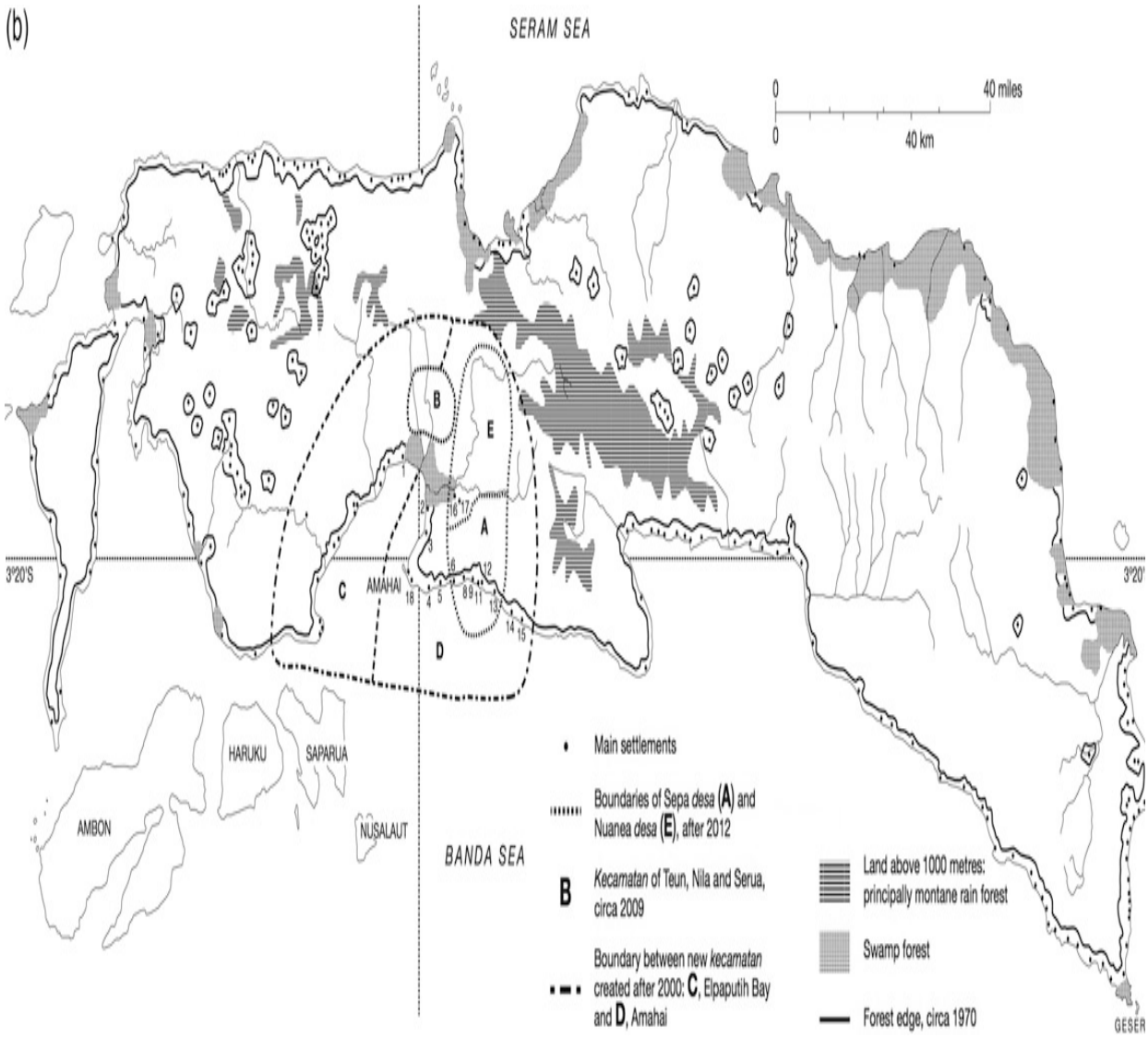


Figure 9.3 Island of Seram showing location of Nuaulu and changes in administrative boundaries between 2000 and 2015: (a) old domain and desa of Sepa (**A**), *kecamatan* of Teun, Nila and Serua – TNS – created after 2000 (**B**), Elpaputih Bay (**C**) and Amahai (**D**); and (b) relevant boundaries in 2015 and including Nuanea *desa* (**E**). Key to numbered settlements (Nuaulu settlements in *italics*): 1, Waraka; 2, Makariki; 3, Masohi; 4, Rutah; 5, Yainuelo; 6, Hatuheno; 7, Nuelitetu (abandoned, and then re-established); 8, *Bunara*; 9, *Niamonae (Watane)*; 10, *Aihisuru* (abandoned); 11, Sepa; 12, *Hahualan*; 13, *Rouhua*; 14, Tamilouw; 15, Yalahatan; 16, *Simalouw*; 17, *Tahena Ukuna*; 18, Soahuku; 19, Opin; 20, Besi; 21, Rumah Olat; 22, Saleman. Map adapted from Topographische Dienst 1921, *Eiland Seran en omligggende eilanden* (Scale 1: 500,000), Netherlands. Boundary data from field notes, and *Statistik Tahunan Seram Selatan*, 1993.

259–60), but had increasingly sought a separate identity. The *Kerusuhan* – the religiously inspired communal conflict played out mainly between Christian and Muslims between 1999 and 2003 – and especially the physical balkanization of religious affiliation served only to further convince many Nuaulu that their future too lay in territorial separation. This was to be

realized in the creation of an entirely new *desa* defined through ethnic and religious affiliation, but this time neither Christian nor Muslim.[2]

The proclamation in 2004 of Undang-Undang Pemerintah Daerah No. 32–2004 brought this a step closer. The statute reversed the changes in village government made by Suharto under the Village Government Law of 1979, which became effective in Maluku after 1985, turning the *negeri* – the pseudo-autonomous *dorpsrepubliks* of the colonial era – into *desa* (Lee 1997), and which led to confusion and contestation over issues of leadership, including amongst Nuaulu. The 2004 law re-introduced the concept of a hereditary raja and *saniri* (AM 'councils') composed of representatives of main clans, restoring a role for *adat*, a process implemented in the Moluccas under governor Karel Albert Ralahalu (Al Qurtuby 2016: 163), and reinforced for the Nuaulu in particular with respect to 'religion' through the 'Haruku resolution' sponsored by AMAN ("Resolusi Haruku" 2016). There are a number of social consequences that stem from the changing demographic and political profile, but one which stands out when noting also low levels of religious conversion, is how the desire to remain Nuaulu has been heavily associated with the growing younger generation, despite this generation facing the main threats to identity retention, and despite elders being formally the guardians of Nuaulu knowledge and practice.[3] The Nuaulu had been marginalized during the communal conflict, but were able to use their neutrality and cultural distinctiveness as part of an argument for detachment from Sepa. On 19 May 2008 the regent (*bupati*) of Maluku Tengah issued a decree in Masohi (Decree Surat Keputusan Bupati Nomor 414–157), establishing Nuanea (a Nuaulu name for themselves) as a definitive territory and *desa* (Resusun 2012: 4, III.1.4). Some Nuaulu at least (those in Nuanea) had now regained direct legal title and sovereignty over their territory (*pertuanan*) together with other indigenous lands in Central Maluku district in general and in the sub-district of Amahai in particular (Resusun 2012: 36), located 12 km from Masohi and 22 km from Amahai. The extent of the residential area in Nuanea in 2015 was about two square kilometers, while the rest of the territory comprised plantation area, secondary forest, gardens and mature forest. The *desa* was bordered to the north by Saleman, Horale and Sawai, to the south by Makariki, Haruru, Amahai and Rutah, to the east and southeast by Sepa and Tamilouw, and to the west by Waraka (Resusun 2012: 38). In 2013 Nuanea comprised 125,000 square kilometers, making it the third largest *desa* in the Amahai sub-district

after Tamilouw (at 596,00 km^2) and Sepa (at 223,60 km^2), out of a total sub-district area of 1149,07 square kilometers (Amahai Dalam Angka 2014: 18–19).

When Nuanea was officially established in 2008, Aipinua Matoke-hanaie remained ***ia onate*** Matoke-hanaie, though he relinquished his government position as *pemuka* or *kepala gotong-royong*. His eldest son, Sahune, became ***ia onate aia*** (the government *kepala desa* and unofficially 'raja' of Nuanea). Simalouw and Tahena Ukuna became part of Nuanea, making it (at 98 percent of the population) almost entirely traditionalist Nuaulu, with only four Muslims and three protestant Christians (Resusun 2012: 70). Nevertheless, due to the radical change over four decades in Nuaulu attitudes to education, attendance continued to increase. In Rouhua, by 2015, of the six teachers at the primary school (SD), four were ethnic Nuaulu. Older children attended the Muhammadiyah school in Sepa though were not required to attend religious classes, nor were girls required to cover. In 2012, while 60 percent of the total Nuaulu population had either never attended school or were not yet old enough to start, 24 percent had attended primary school (SD), 9 percent middle school (SMA) and 6 percent high school (SMA). Two individuals had already gone into higher education (Resusun 2012: 55). Therefore, 40 percent had some form of schooling. In the same year Nuanea celebrated the anniversary of its existence as an independent *desa* with its own raja, inviting guests from the sub-district, district and provincial levels of government (Resusun 2012: 40).

Thus, in terms of those material changes that in Indonesian are evoked by the word *kemajuan* (progress and development), the period 1970–2015 saw some enormous changes for the Nuaulu. We have noted the dramatic increase in population. Nuaulu had also gained more control of what they saw as their territory and its resources, they were more independent of Sepa, and had begun to seriously engage with the world of education. Moreover, the cash incomes of many had risen, though accompanied by growing economic inequality and individualism, to an extent that the single-minded pursuit of money was beginning to threaten the basis of traditional social exchange and customary norms. The achievement of higher levels of schooling made the issue of their 'religious' identity more salient and problematic, especially as the requirements of Pancasila impacted on the labour market (Ellen 2014). Many of these changes, despite contributing to the robust projection of a separate Nuaulu identity, had paradoxically led to a

diminishing amongst young adults of social knowledge of other Nuaulu in settlements outside their immediate intermarrying groups, as well as growing levels of ignorance of symbolic knowledge. The long-term impact of this has yet to show itself.

So far in my explanation of the events that led to the establishment of Nuanea, I have focused on exogenous factors, on the material, and on activity at the political level, but for the principle Nuaulu actors, the movement to the Nua-Ruatan confluence area and then the progress towards formal recognition of political autonomy was always about achieving some kind of return to the ways of the ancestors and a rebirth – a real renaissance – of 'ancestrality' and ancient values (Tongli 1994: 7, 23, 109). This was signified physically in a re-occupation and concentration in an area sometimes called Tanamera, in particular at Hatupatola, the ancestral village of Kamama. The aim was, through re-unification, to create a ***nuhune-sainikane*** community, a coming-together of mountain and sea, upriver and downriver, high village (Aihisuru) and low village (Watane). Indeed, the meaning of Simalouw is to 'announce that all Nuaulu are united'. But although this vision of re-connection with territory in the mountains and valleys of interior central Seram was one shared by most Nuaulu, it was hampered by internal arguments between clans that prevented consensus. These occurred not only between the clans of Rouhua and Niamonae that had historically been at odds (Chapter 2), for example concerning the authority to establish a ***suane*** and what its functions should be, but also between village chief Utapina Kamama of Simalouw and Aipinua, the ***ia onate*** Matoke-hanaie as the first-amongst-equals in matters of custom, over how government money was to be used for infrastructure (Tongli 1994: 46). Despite the efforts of a reform-minded *desa* secretary at Simalouw in the person of Marpati Sounaue-ainakahata, reflecting the modernizing tendency, establishing a centralized authority recognized by all Nuaulu as legitimate has in the end proved more difficult that persuading the government to grant local administrative autonomy.

Clan vitality and social reproduction

Table 9.2 Nuaulu distribution of clans and ritual houses, May 2015

	Rouhua	*Watane*	*Hahualan*	*Bunara*	*Nuanea*	*Mon*
Huni				2	1	
Kamama					2+	
Matoke-hanaie					3	
Matoke-pina	1					
Neipani-nahatue			1			
Neipani-nesinopu			2			
Neipani-tomoien	1			2		2
Numanaeta					2	
Peinisa	2	2			+	
Pia				2	+	
Sopanani-metene				2		
Soumori	2			+	1	
Sounaue-ainakahata	1				2	1
Sounaue-aipura				2		
Sounaue-kapanusa	1					

Demography has impacted on clans in different ways, and the upward growth in Nuaulu numbers has implications for understanding the history of ritual cycles, as I showed in *Nuaulu Religious Practices*. Some clans have grown faster than others, two larger clans in Rouhua (Sounaue and Neipani) have segmented further to create new sub-clans and their associated sacred houses, while other clans have declined in size. Table 9.2 shows the distribution of clans and ritual houses across the different settlements as I found them in May 2015. Sopanani and Numanaeta are represented by only two households each, which is barely enough to service their sacred houses: two in the case of Sopanani and two in the case of Numanaeta. Some Sopanani-putie now live in Ambon. Small clans have been able to survive where there are sufficient female offspring to marry men who can work on the sacred houses, but they must inevitably work harder than larger clans, or must work over a longer period with the consequence that it therefore takes longer to complete a ritual cycle. The problems faced by individual clans can

be readily appreciated by comparing the demographic pyramids for different Rouhua clans (Ellen 2012: 298).

In Table 9.3 I have, using data provided in Table 7.3, shown the connectivity between clans, in terms of the number of other clans with which the listed clan has marital links in my records, together with the total number of marital links for each clan. Links with non-Nuaulu clans are omitted. What is very clear is that there is a strong correspondence between number of clans with which an individual clan is connected and the total number of marital linkages, and with total clan numbers reported in the database. Neipani and Sounaue are overwhelmingly the most connected.

If we now return to one of the core puzzles addressed in this monograph – the contribution (if any) of particular forms of cross-cousin marriage to Nuaulu cultural resilience, we can see from the (admittedly incomplete) census, that of all 248 marriages recorded for the period up to 2015, the number of males marrying a female from the same clan as his mother is 35. These are distributed between clans as follows: into Soumori 1, Matoke-pina 1, Matoke as a whole 4, Peinisa 2, Neipani-tomoien 1, Neipani as a whole 13, Pia 1, Sounanue-ainakahata 2 and Sounaue as whole 14. There are no reported repeat marriages for Huni, Numanaeta, Sopanani, Matoke-hanaie, Neipani-nesinopu, Neipani-nahatue, Sounaue-aipura and Kamama. All Rouhua marriages with Sounaue here are with Ainakahata, never with Aipura, and there is generally a strong presumption of village endogamy.

Table 9.3 Numerical measures of connectivity between Nuaulu clans (excluding exogamic sub-clans), based on male records in Nuaulu kinship database as of 2015

Clan	*Number of other clans with which connected*	*Total marital links*	*Total individual records in database*
Neipani	8	75	350
Sounaue	6	62	299
Matoke	7	35	136
Pia	5	7	15
Peinisa	4	22	99
Soumori	4	25	133
Huni	3	8	27
Kamama	3	7	17

Clan	*Number of other clans with which connected*	*Total marital links*	*Total individual records in database*
Numanaeta	3	5	9
Sopanani	2	3	10
Tapinunue	1	1	1

A special word needs to be added here concerning clans in Nuanea. The position here has been in a state of flux due to ongoing in-migration and the politics of establishing a kind of Nuaulu autarky (as described in the previous section), and the particular circumstances relating to its establishment as a designated Nuaulu *desa*. In 2015 Nuanea comprised seven clans: Matoke-hanaie, Sounaue-ainakahata, Pia, Numanaeta, Soumori, Huni and Peinisa. Matoke had three sacred houses, namely Numarone, Sounekete and Tumpasa (Resusun 2012: 39), this last being the focus of female puberty rituals. Kamama had sacred houses at Simalouw. Only two clans – according to the Nuanea faction – have the right to authorize the building of a ***suane*** – Matoke-hanaie and Sounaue-aipura, making the Rouhua ***suane***, which existed approximately between 1968 and 1981, illegal. Soumori provides the ***ia onate ankarua*** (the deputy to the 'raja' ***ia onate aia***), Sounaue provides the ***numa kapitane***, while Pia provides the ***marinio*** (messenger). Peinisa, though present, does not have sacred houses in Nuanea, but does maintain them in Watane. Numanaeta provides a *kewang* (AM) to assist in regulating the harvest of forest and marine resources (Resusun 2012: 41–3).

So, the overall size of a clan is crucial for effective reproduction of rituals, and therefore for the reproduction of the clan itself. Nuaulu are well aware of the importance of clan fecundity. Elders of Sounaue-ainakahata and Soumori, for example, note that once they were both large clans, but are now much smaller. A clan on the verge of demographic collapse may not be able to afford the luxury of a ***makae*** marriage between cross-cousins. However, Nuaulu measure the importance of a clan partly in terms of the fecundity of its imported women, but also in terms of its symbolic standing in mythic history, as shared with other clans and as reflected in precedence and topogeny. Serious loss of absolute numbers has historically led to incorporation of some descent groups with others, most recently Neipani-

nahatue in Bunara, which merged with Neipani-nesinopu. Thus, what was previously a semi-autonomous clan (though with restrictions on marriage within the Neipani grouping of clans) begins to function like a house.

The demography of individual and exchanging clans will also have an impact on the frequency and periodicity of rituals. This can lead to various paradoxes, such as a clan being on the verge of demographic collapse (such as Matoke-pina) but rich in terms of valuables. If there are lots of females these will bring in wealth; but it is males that are needed to effectively reproduce the house and clan. As the male population grows, so male puberty rituals become more frequent and larger (Ellen 2012: 299). Thus, what is crucial for a clan is not simply its total size at any one moment, but its age and sex profile. Some 1971 clan age-sex pyramids have already been published (Ellen 2012: 298), but note that the females counted in these are those for which the clan is their natal home and not those who provide offspring to perpetuate their natal clan.

Clan women, of course, do not contribute to the reproductive success of their natal clan, but to that of other clans. Nevertheless, females are important for regenerating the material and symbolic wealth of the clan. In addition, the overall demographic health of a clan may conceal differences between its constituent sacred houses, which may have consequences for ritual reproduction. Thus, some houses are more fecund and resource rich than others and will be able more easily to mobilize for house-oriented ceremonies, including the building of new physical houses. Number and pattern of clan houses has varied between 1971 and 2003. Thus, some individual sacred houses have suffered from demographic collapse, while the clans of which they are part have nevertheless prospered.

We noted in Chapter 3 the circumstances under which new sub-clans can come into existence, using the example of Sounaue-kapanusa in Rouhua. Figure 3.3 also featured the example of Neipani-runusa at Moni, and it is instructive to expand on this case here. Moni had long been a temporary satellite settlement of Rouhua, 2.5 kilometers eastward along the coast towards Tamilouw, where semi-permanent field-houses (***numa nisi***) had long been established to accommodate people during those periods of the swidden cycle and the cash-cropping year when heavy labour inputs made it inconvenient to return each evening to the main village. Much of the land towards the mountains here and along the Mon river and its tributary streams was traditional Neipani-tomoien territory, and one of the larger field-houses had belonged to Kaisa Neipani-tomoien and his father Sainika before him.

Kaisa had been a significant figure in Rouhua political life for some decades, and had been interim village headman following the death of Komisi Soumori, who had held that position before him for the best part of 30 years until his death in 1990. Sometime after 2009 (when he was still village headman, and when I had been visiting Rouhua), Kaisa led the move of a group of disaffected Neipani-tomoien households to establish a permanent settlement at Moni, and more significantly to re-site the ***numa kapitane*** Neipani-tomoien. The situation that led to this development appeared to be related to the ongoing dispute with Soumori and other clans over the government headship of Rouhua enshrined in the title ***ia onate ankarua***. Kaisa disagreed with Komisi when he said the title should go to him; he said the ancestors gifted the title to Soumori alone. The land on which the new settlement had been built was an old *dusun kelapa negeri* (AM, 'village coconut grove') originally established under government supervision for all Nuaulu, including those now at Nuanea. By 2015, however, each Nuaulu settlement had a separate *dusun negeri* and this land had become available for house-building. A small part of the *dusun* (in this sense, an orchard) had been retained as a community resource by Christian Nuaulu who had fled to Waraka (Rouhua Baru) during the communal disturbances of 1998–2001, and protected with a *sasi gereja* (AM, 'church taboo'). By the time I visited Moni again in 2015 the settlement – now named Runusa – had become a semi-official designated *dusun* (in the sense of an administrative ward of a larger *desa*), with Kaisa as *kepala dusun* authorized by the Bapinsa (*bintara pembina desa*: 'law enforcement officer') in Sepa. More importantly, the establishment of Runusa had the approval of Aipinua, the ***ia onate*** Matoke-hanaie, guardian of the Pinawasa ***numa monne***, the senior Matoke sub-clan now resident in Nuanea and primus-inter-pares of all Nuaulu clans, as well as the new government-recognized Raja of Nuanea (Sahune Matoke-hanaie), who Nuaulu call the ***ia onate aia***. The ritual approval is reflected in the permission granted by Aipinua for Kaisa to build a ***numa meute*** (a house built entirely of rattan), which is the gift alone of Matoke-hanaie, and his receipt of a ***tupu-tupue*** (a decorated barkcloth indicating ritual status). The name Run-nusa (Runusa) is the gift of the ancestors, ***run*** referring to how the clan Neipani-tomoien moved westwards along the hills of the south coast before settling around Sepa, and ***nusa*** meaning 'island' and in particular Seram.

In 2015 the ritual component of the Moni settlement comprised two Neipani sacred houses, ***numa saruana***, plus one in construction. One of

these had previously been the ***numa kapitane*** Neipani-tomoien, of which Retapana at that time was the guardian, and in which capacity he has the authority to officiate (that is, be a ***morite***) at Neipani-runusa male puberty ceremonies. This latter is a solution to the problem of finding ***morite*** from other clans, which is the normal expectation. This special arrangement reflects the flexibility of Nuaulu ritual practice, but also a certain rigidity stemming from the existing tensions between clans. By 2015 the Sounaue-ainakahata ***numa kapitane*** had also moved to Moni, along with several households. But the settlement at Moni has a secular infrastructure and characteristics as well. There are two Butonese households, one of which runs a shop. Paramedics visit, using the ***numa meute*** as a clinic, which also serves as a kindergarten, though children have to attend school in either Rouhua or Tamilouw.

An overview of the system

From the beginnings of anthropological studies of kinship in the mid-nineteenth century, there has existed a fundamental ambiguity concerning the relationship between social categories and biological connectivity, and more specifically concerning the link between descriptive genealogical relationships and so-called ‘classificatory’ relationships. Lewis Henry Morgan (1877), after all, felt able to infer sexual bonds and ‘primitive promiscuity’ from equivalent kin terms used for fathers and uncles on the one hand and mothers and aunts on the other. Conveniently, in his attempt to understand the evolution of human sociality, he assumed that the terminologies he discovered in ‘Hawaiian’ systems only made sense by assuming that people muddled genealogy in the parental generation because of uncertain identification of biological fatherhood. Similarly, the sometimes petulant arguments waged by competing theorists and interpreters of Lévi-Strauss’s ‘elementary structures’, and between Lévi-Strauss himself and his critical admirers, concerning the use of the words ‘prescription’ and ‘preference’ when applied to cross-cousin marriage (Homans and Schneider 1955; Needham 1962; Lévi-Strauss 1970: xxx–xxxv; Needham 1973), have revolved around a misunderstanding that if the terminological algebra was consistent with marrying a particular cousin then we must infer that this

constituted some kind of expectation, or trace of an historically earlier expectation, and not just a ‘preference’, or indeed use of a common term for a group of relationships sharing the same role. It has since become obvious (see for example Barnard and Good 1984: 10–12, 100–104; Parkin 1997: 57–60) that while prescription is the property of a linguistically expressed model (logically consistent only within the terminology), the social rules that operate may not necessarily be binding, and only indicate degrees of preference.

I proposed in Chapter 1 that Nuaulu groups, like all human populations, must reproduce both biologically and socially to survive. Moreover, human reproduction is now sometimes characterized as ‘biocultural’ (rather than ‘cooperative’) breeding, allowing local flexibility in alloparental provisioning strategies, which in different ways reduce lifetime reproductive efforts, and increase the potential for demographic success (Bogin, Bragg and Kuzawa 2014). In terms of the usual anthropological conceptualizations of kinship behaviour, biological reproduction is enhanced not only by the use of terminologies that closely match genealogical relationships, but ‘fictive’ kinship and especially so-called ‘classificatory’ kinship as well. In fact, the distinction between ‘descriptive’ and ‘classificatory’ terminologies becomes redundant at this point, all terminologies arguably being an independent logical subset of language the function of which is to make cognizable, and therefore operable, otherwise seemingly large and complex genealogical networks (Read, Fischer and Lehman 2014). But over the longer term both forms of reproduction – biological and social – can be seen to display two kinds of evolved behaviour (that is ‘dual inheritance’): one based on genes, copulation, kin selection and inclusive fitness (which works on genealogical networks); the other achieved through cultural reproduction of symbols (including kinship terminologies), which ensures continuity of a wider social arena beyond biological relatedness, with its own emergent properties based on external information storage and transfer (Boyd and Richerson 1985; Richerson and Boyd 2005; and as elaborated by Paul 2015).[4] While these two processes can be separated conceptually, in practice they are implicated in each other in intricate ways, and as engines for ensuring continuity are not equally distributed throughout a particular cultural population or ‘society’. Thus, while overall social reproduction may assist biological reproduction where it is threatened by low population numbers (through for example greater kin investment), biological

reproduction may overcome weaknesses in social reproduction where numbers are strong and individuals fit. As Alan MacFarlane (1976) has pointed out, corporate kin groups encourage fertility by spreading the cost of child-rearing and recruiting to groups via children. Moreover, not all sub-units within a corporate group need to succeed individually, because of the existence of cross-subsidy. Thus, while ordinary Nuaulu households and domestic groups are responsible for the bulk of material and biological reproduction, they cannot do it without the ritual means of production vested in the sacred houses and those associated with them. For this reason they depute to the sacred houses this essential work, which involves the special capacity of connecting with the ancestors in order to reproduce society cosmically. But sacred houses can only do this with a continuous and reliable flow of physical material (whether food, other harvested objects or objects obtained through exchange) and labour from other constituent households within a clan, sub-clan or sacred house, as described in Chapter 4. Similarly, while all households, sub-clans and clans rely on marriage between appropriate individuals to establish alliances with other households and clans to reproduce both biologically and socially, sacred houses have a special role in maintaining longer-term alliances with particular clans on behalf of the rest of society in order to maintain the bilateral exchanges or ritual between houses and clans necessary for reproduction. This they achieve through the mechanism of cross-cousin marriage over several generations. In the same way that sacred houses might be said to perform the many rituals necessary to ensure effective social reproduction, so they also 'perform' marriage with cross-cousins.

Let us summarize the argument so far. Nuaulu rituals are actions that are necessary to ensure the reproduction of houses and clans, and yet rituals require the existence of houses and clans to reproduce ritual. In order to continue ritual cycles Nuaulu need to reproduce clans as corporate groups and within clans a minimum of two reciprocating houses. However, houses that compose a clan may not inter-marry, and so have to obtain their spouses from outside the clan if they are to reproduce. Moreover, they have – generally – to obtain spouses from within the wider group who identify linguistically as Nuaulu, in order that clans and houses can perform the exchanges and rituals required, although the clans of some non-Nuaulu animist groups do have long-existing relations of exchange with some Nuaulu clans (e.g. Yalahatan). Nuaulu *descent* is emphasized through the continuity of sacra that are made locally e.g. barkcloth, sacred shields,

baskets. These things emphasize continuity through patrilineal blood and are passed on through the house and clan. They are never exchanged, just periodically reproduced. Relations between clans on the other hand – that is *alliance* – are emphasized by the exchange of trade goods e.g. porcelain and red cloth, including those for marriage-wealth. The structural expectation for marriage between bilateral cross-cousins – encoded in the terminology – is a strong factor in ensuring that both women and valuables are conserved within the two exchanging houses, and for as long as the two houses can continue exchanging valuables and ritual services they ensure their reproduction. Bilaterality brings both descent and alliance together.

The historic problem for Nuaulu is, however, that while the structural implications of their system imply repeat in-marriage between two sacred houses within one clan, demographic necessity requires out-marriage to other clans. The number of Nuaulu clans sufficiently large to reliably supply women is small. In effect, exchange takes place within the five largest clans, although within the clans, sacred houses also have to be viable. While marriage-wealth is expected, it is rarely paid immediately and may take many years, the debt even surviving the death of individual marriage partners. Although an accumulation of ill-fortune might eventually lead to the payment of historic marriage-wealth debts, the expectation of payment is often sufficient to maintain the alliance except when there is a practical need for valuables to perform rituals or service other debts. Increasing numbers of men and women are lost to the process of reproduction through the attrition of out-marriage, while despite high rates of endogamy and a desire to remain neutral in the context of the present politico-religious dispensation of the Moluccas, some Nuaulu children continue to marry Christians and Muslims, and therefore increase the demographic hazards to effective continuity.

In this monograph I have tried to show how demographic factors have influenced the transmission of ritual practice for a period of about 45 years spanning the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. I have provided evidence that supports the hypothesis that retention of core institutions of descent and alliance is the structural consequence of population growth, which in turn has enabled ritual reproduction, and thereby effectively maintained a distinct identity in relation to the surrounding majority culture. There is a mutuality between the key relations of descent and alliance and the perpetuation of key rituals. Rituals are focused on houses and lineages as corporate groups and once the

rituals disappear the clans have less purpose, and if clans and houses disappear by demographic erosion, then rituals can no longer be performed.

We can only speculate about how demography impacted on ritual reproduction at an earlier period, though we can be sure that it had an effect. The data I have used here are largely from a synchronic snapshot from 1970 to 1971, supplemented by more recent data that shed light on continuities and changes in marriage patterns over the subsequent 45-year period. Strangely, we know the outcome of the story, at least up to 2015: Nuaulu continue to robustly reproduce their core rituals, facilitated through population expansion, low levels of religious conversion, their political neutrality in the underlying tensions between Christians and Muslims, and a generally pragmatic attitude on the part of government, in part a consequence administrative convenience.

Systems of rules relating to patterns of marriage, descent and alliance in traditional societies do not suddenly arise as if planned by either a committee or some kind of group mind, they emerge over time on the basis of pre-existing practices, ultimately sufficiently consistent with a small set of evolved tendencies: maternal bonding, kin altruism, incest avoidance, parental investment, all of which are in turn subject to modification as they interact with other social factors. Each individual, and each generation, try their best first of all to understand and describe the emergent regularities they experience, and inevitably seek a model that makes sense given their own accumulated and aggregated practice. On the basis of this description of their own society, they derive rules to better ensure its effective reproduction. The words used to describe relationships simplify the system for the purposes of knowledge transmission, but inevitably sometimes give rise to conflict. Conflicts are either internally resolved sufficiently for existing practices to be reproduced, or there are splits along lines of accepted social variation which ultimately give rise to new ‘societies’. This kind of account is consistent with the kind of general structure-agency model advocated by Giddens (1984) as structuration.

The wider ethnographic perspective[5]

What I have described so far applies only to that group of intermarrying clans that we can call Nuaulu. On the basis of the rather patchy data available at the time, Van Wouden (1935) saw Seramese society as governed in its entirety through matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. We now know that while this is certainly a recurrent pattern, the situation as a whole is much more complex (see e.g. Grzimek 1991; Hagen 2006). The Nuaulu exchange model and the associated practices of marriage and ritual are slightly unusual in the context of eastern Indonesia, which – outside areas where cognatic kinship organization predominates – is usually associated with asymmetric alliance and marriage between matrilateral cross-cousins. This is the case, for example amongst the Huaulu of north Seram researched by Valerio Valeri (e.g. 1994: 154–5). Among Huaulu, men marry their matrilateral cross-cousins and women their patrilateral cross-cousins. As Valeri (2001: 315) points out, this combines hierarchy and equality 'in perpetual tension'.

It is instructive to compare the Nuaulu situation with that pertaining among the more frequently reported cases of unilateral or matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, but since there are no detailed empirical studies of how this might work for Seram, I shall instead compare the Nuaulu with the Tanimbarese population studied by Susan McKinnon (1991: 17). This is a contemporary study that takes into account recent scholarship on kinship, marriage and gender in island southeast Asia available at the time it was undertaken, and is not particularly concerned with re-engaging in the old battles of the Oxford and Leiden schools or with Lévi-Strauss's theories, or with the misleading issue of prescriptive and preferential alliance. Nevertheless, it provides a convenient and instructive comparison, through which we can examine some similarities and differences in terms of, for example (1) the relationship between corporate kinship groups and exchange, (2) hierarchy and marital alliance, (3) the frequency of cousin marriage and (4) the impact of religious conversion.

(1) Corporate kinship groups and exchange

The Tanimbarese house described by McKinnon (1991: 33), like that of the Nuaulu, is an enduring unit that must continually be recreated through exchange, and like the Nuaulu house 'is not altogether a descent group' (p. 29). However, in the Nuaulu case, while houses exchange with other houses

to ensure their periodic ritual reproduction (through life-cycle and house-cycle ceremonies), they are not autonomous when it comes to marriage, which can only take place between clans not houses. Thus, the house ensures its genealogical ('blood') reproduction through clans, and this is what drives Nuaulu to undertake constant building and rebuilding of ***numa monne***. McKinnon claims that descent in the sense of lineality and branching lines is not important for Tanimbarese, but we might better say that it is weak, given that 'one must ensure the intergenerational continuity of the male aspect so that it may remain the source of life for others' (McKinnon 1991: 134). Unlike the Tanimbarese (McKinnon 1991: 99), where neither intergenerational continuity of males within the house, nor the relation between the elder and younger brother houses, is conceived in terms of an ideology of descent, the notion of descent and lineal continuity – as we established in Chapter 3 – is key for Nuaulu, even though the depth of traceable connections is shallow.

(2) Hierarchy and marital alliance

Tanimbar is a ranked society in the way Nuaulu is not. In Tanimbar, hierarchy is consistent with the outcome of perpetual asymmetric marriage, and affinal relations beyond three generations result in a crucial shift whereby the relative superiority of wife-giver over wife-taker is superseded by the delineation of three fixed hierarchical levels (McKinnon 1991: 119, 124, 127). This does not happen in the Nuaulu case with its structural predisposition towards direct exchange, encouraged partly through limitations in the availability of genealogically suitable spouses. The dynamic between the empirical possibilities for marriage and the structural tendency in the wider system in turn serves to maintain the integrity of mutually reciprocating units. In other words, there is a mutual reinforcing, or continuous renewal of context and process, or in Firth's (1951) terms 'structure' (the abstract normative system evident from shared social categories and the intentionality) and 'organization' (the sum of day-to-day relations underpinned by individual variation, social transactions, social conflict and the interactions of individual decision-makers). In eastern Indonesia, the wife-giver/wife-taker idiom of relative superiority and inferiority is generally associated with matri-lateral cross-cousin marriage

between a minimum of three exchanging groups, but with Nuaulu we find exchanges between clans that may reverse the superior-inferior relationship in the same or adjacent generations, together with a wider idiom of organizational duality that supports it. Whereas in the Nuaulu case there is a general expectation of structural equivalence and symmetry of exchange, in the Tanimbarese case (McKinnon 1991: 255) there is an overwhelming sense of the pervasive asymmetry of marriage, of the directionality and irreversibility of the flow of blood and women. Over time, Tanimbarese matrilateral cross-cousin marriage transforms a provisional relationship into a more permanent asymmetric 'pathway' and 'rows' of affinally allied houses (McKinnon 1991: 103, 200). In the literature on marriage alliance in eastern Indonesia metaphors of 'pathway', 'row', 'line', 'ensemble' and 'ladder' are common (e.g. Pauwels 1994: 80; Allerton 2004; also Fox 1980b), and one can see this in asymmetric alliance where chains of unidirectional connections across several houses or other kinds of corporate kinship group can be identified, and where the extent of connection and direction is important, and the way of describing it significant. However, this idiom is not used as far as I can see by Nuaulu, which again is consistent with a model of symmetrical exchange. For Nuaulu, repeat marriage with cross-cousins simply confirms an existing bilateral relationship. While Tanimbarese matrilateral cross-cousin marriage can occasionally turn asymmetry into symmetry by transforming open into closed pathways, Nuaulu demographic restrictions encourage more symmetrical exchange, while clan alliance options provide plenty of opportunities for maintaining degrees of symmetry. With Nuaulu, the ritual model and preference is for symmetry, but the realities of securing marriage partners ensures asymmetry and links with many clans. We do not have lines, waves or flows of alliances coursing through Nuaulu society as successive clans marry their matri-lateral cross-cousins, but rather circulation between often as few as three clans, and sometimes a short-term oscillation between just two, which makes it more consistent with what we think of as 'bilateral cross-cousin marriage'.

(3) Frequency of cross-cousin marriage

Although Tanimbarese marriage is 'strictly asymmetric and matrilateral', it is not inflexible. Empirically it involves both open cycles and closed cycles,

and marriage with a MBD or FZS is not consistently practiced (McKinnon 1991: 113). As in the Nuaulu case, Tanimbarese are able to maintain the fiction that a particular kind of exchange endures and is the core of the system, even when practically in most cases it does not. All Tanimbarese marriages, even those that initiate new affinal relations, presuppose and support an asymmetric system of affinal relations that endures (McKinnon 1991: 135). The danger is when we begin to interpret statistical infrequency of cousin marriage, and practices inconsistent with the terminology, as somehow a 'breakdown' of the system or a 'problem'. Rather, as I have tried to show using Nuaulu data, there is no evidence that the situation in these respects is any different now than it has been at any time in the past – recent or remote – and certainly not that the present system is a degraded version of a system in which practice fully matched some ideal model reflected in the use of certain linguistic categories. We cannot read from the terminology an archaic form in some crude Morganite (Morgan 1877) way. As McKinnon (1991: 199) puts it, a particular form of cross-cousin marriage, whether bilateral or matri-lateral, is 'neither a rule to be broken or followed nor an ideal to be enacted or not in practice… rather… one particular manner of creating a relation that has a number of particular consequences'. In both the Nuaulu and Tanimbarese cases, marriage with non-terminologically prescribed persons has advantages in opening-up new possibilities for exchange, whereas marriage with a designated cross-cousin simply maintains an established trajectory. Similarly, in both cases repeat marriage simply ensures the relative permanence of affinal relations rather than adhering to a rule, and is as likely to be a consequence of available options as a deliberate strategy.

(4) Religious conversion

Nuaulu cross-cousin marriage and exchange between houses and clans is wholly dependent on maintaining traditional cultural conventions and ritual practices. Where Nuaulu have converted to Christianity or Islam, at least since 1970, much of this seems to progressively fall away in ensuing generations, and social reproduction is achieved in other ways, in part by deferring to separate institutionalized religious authorities, either Christian or Muslim. By contrast, the Tanimbarese marriage system has survived

conversion to Christianity, a process that began in 1910 (McKinnon 1991: 8). The Nuaulu model is so closely tied to the structural reciprocity expected of clans in the performance of ritual responsibilities that it is difficult to see how it could survive mass conversion, and this has been the pattern in much of west and central Seram (Grzimek 1991; Hagen 2006). On Seram, once conversion has taken place, the clans and marriage patterns generally lose their structure and purpose and are absorbed into a general Ambonese pattern of the kind described by Cooley (1962b). Whereas in the Tanimbarese case the complex alliances generated through matrilateral cross-cousin marriage have survived the loss of their rituals, Nuaulu ritual depends on the maintenance of bilateral exchange in the general sense, though not exclusively through the exchange of bilateral cross-cousins in marriage. The hard facts of conversion are putting this under strain, though population growth has mitigated the problem. However, whereas Tanimbarese were historically confronted with a Catholic prohibition on matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (see also Molnar 2000: 130–2), this has not been an issue for Nuaulu. This is mainly because most have not converted, and where they have it ceases to be an issue as there is no longer an imperative to exchange valuables and ritual services, except as part of secular marriage-wealth. Moreover, Nuaulu cousin marriage is practiced with less consistency than Tanimbarese cousin marriage.

In Nusa Tenggara and Tanimbar, where the pattern of conversion was different and the pre-colonial population more homogenous and organized into large domains, the function of the clans and the structure of marriage relations was less affected by conversion. McKinnon (1991: 11) claims that change on Tanimbar has taken place against the background of a ‘conventional’ core of social forms, a robust continuity that is associated with relations of kinship and marriage and exchange. On Seram the history has been of more whole-scale destruction of traditional forms and acceptance of wider Ambonese social norms and arrangements, not simply religious institutions but a set of cultural practices that has provided a strong alternative model. Just as the architecture of the mind seeks cognitive economies wherever it can, so in marriage practices people generally seek the simplest solutions consistent with the demographic and social context in which they find themselves.

History, serendipity and strategy

Social categories impose order on the messy and tangled web of lived social relations, and on the irregular distribution of individuals occupying various genealogical positions, and do so inevitably by simplifying the social world, and abetting social control through labelling the critical segments of social space that people either aspire to occupy or, alternatively, avoid. Their ability to do this is a measure of effective reproduction. But once created, relationship terms and the categories they label can become forces for inertia, accumulating histories of their own (including fixing memories of past usage). I have tried to show in this monograph how changing demography can both influence patterns of exchange and their consequences, and how anthropologists interpret them. There is a persisting dynamic of bilateral exchange in Nuaulu society, most obviously between clans (expressed in a significant proportion of marriages, and in some mega-rituals), and between houses within clans (expressed in most rituals of the house and life-cycle). But note that where clans are engaged the actual social units mobilized in an exchange are necessarily, physically, and in terms of personnel, the houses that comprise them; and as we asserted at the beginning of this analysis, while houses within clans can ensure their social reproduction through mutual exchange, there is often not much evidence of recent biological connection between houses. To reiterate, in order to perpetuate themselves biologically sacred houses need to cooperate at a clan level by marrying into other clans. This dynamic is summarized in Figure 9.4a.

Moreover, in small populations, assuming there are the right proportions of marriageable males and females, we might expect a close correspondence between genealogical and classificatory kin. As population fluctuates, the extent

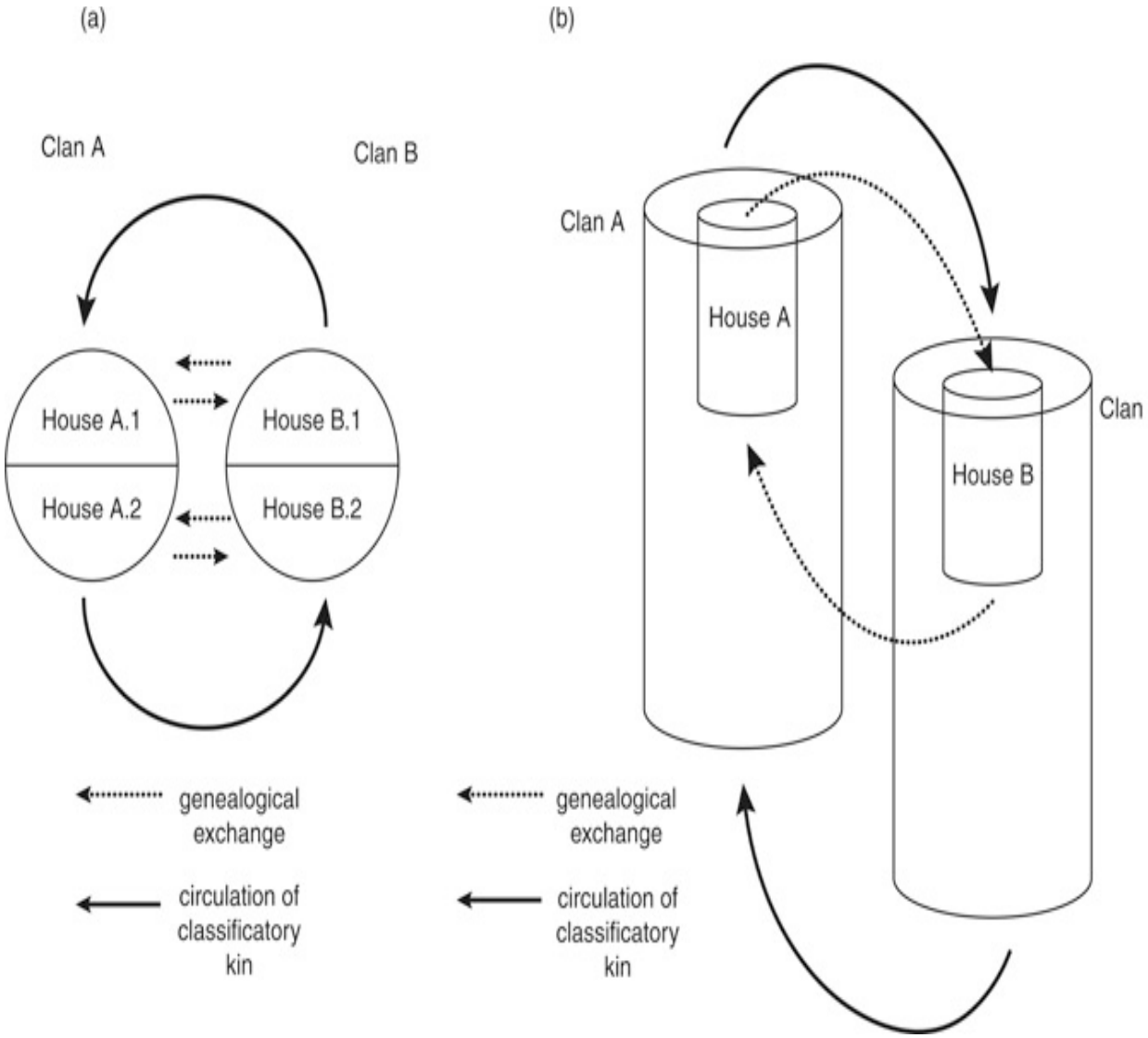


Figure 9.4 Modelling genealogical and social exchange between two clans and the houses that compose them: (a) the core dynamic, and (b) circulation over time as the smaller part of circulation between classificatory kin.

to which marriage is between classificatory cross-cousins and genealogical cross-cousins will vary; but all that is necessary for the system to perpetuate itself is that there are sufficient marriages between genealogical cross-cousins to reinforce the wider practices of marriage between classificatory cross-cousins. In other words, genealogical exchange over time is the lesser (less-encompassing) part of circulation between classificatory kin (Figure 9.4b). One of the reasons why there is a divergence between classificatory and genealogical kinship at all is because in small-scale societies with low populations, where people are mostly marrying close relatives (what Lévi-Strauss describes as displaying so-called ‘elementary structures’), there is a

sufficiently high statistical likelihood of correspondence between the two for it not to matter. Only when kinship becomes a separate domain in more complex and populous societies does it begin to matter, and the non-correspondence between genealogical and social affiliation becomes more socially significant and analytically visible. The approach I have been pursuing here does not fit easily with the typologizing and grand syntheses of kinship that were fashionable in the 1960s and which find their last great exposition in *Les Structures Élémentaire*. Rather than trying to allocate entire modes of social classification and marriage practices to a particular type – say 'Kariera', 'Aranda', or 'Crow-Omaha' – and then spend infinite time and ingenuity explaining where a particular case fits in and why its internal features are so puzzling, we need to recognize that every system evolves in its own historical context, with its own dynamic.[6]

Finally, we need to return to my initial claim that recent history has demonstrated 'resilience' at the core of Nuaulu social arrangements. I use the term 'resilience' hesitantly, and to describe a condition that has occurred rather than a property that is somehow intrinsic to a system; though a common definition of 'resilience' which works here is the capacity of a system to rapidly and effectively respond to perturbations and disturbance, and to reorganize while at the same time changing in a way that maintains some basic overall system function. There is much current discussion of the concept in relation to socioecological systems, and in such contexts the characteristics are a combination of inbuilt flexibility of response, and a complexity that permits buffering of the system. However, stemming as it does from ecological thinking in biology, it also sometimes masks the local significance of contradictions and power relations (Hornborg 2013; Sauer 2015; Hatt 2013). In this respect it is a bit like the history of anthropological studies of cultural adaptation, which have tended to systematically underestimate the implications of different groups or individuals achieving their own fitness at the expense of others within a wider social system, while the dynamic – even chaotic – process through which adaptation characteristically takes place is sometimes disguised through a tendency towards statistical normalization (Ellen 2018).

In the case of Nuaulu populations, the historical precedents for attributing resilience to the local socioecological system through which they are constituted is not obvious. Certainly, within Nuaulu environmental knowledge practices there is plenty of evidence of flexible movement

between different extractive technologies and resources which tend to optimize use of a range of biotopes, but this is to ignore the way in which the parameters within which these strategies operate have in turn been influenced by another range of external sociopolitical forces impacting on both their ecological relations and their capacity to reproduce socially. While our knowledge of what these wider forces might have been is very limited for the period before 1600, we can begin to see that thereafter there were a number of step-changes or choke-points or bottlenecks in the Nuaulu spatiotemporal system created by these forces, and which at various times have threatened the ability of Nuaulu populations to reproduce themselves. Though the Dutch wars of the late seventeenth century certainly impacted on Nuaulu patterns of settlement (inducing migration, demographic erosion and general instability), it was not until the late nineteenth century, with the dislocation of Nuaulu from traditional upland territories and resettlement on the coast, that we have any hard evidence of challenges to the existing resilience of their system. The period coincides with the availability of our first information on Nuaulu, information that suggests that at this point the population levels were so low as to threaten effective viability. But periods of demographic instability such as the influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1957 (cf. Hagen 2006: 100) and periods of high infant mortality also provided opportunities for alternative and inconsistent cultural practices to arise. Despite this, the population steadily grew during the twentieth century, allowing the establishment of new settlements at Rouhua and Bunara, only interrupted by another bottleneck, the dislocations accompanying the events of the Second World War, the period of independence and the ensuing RMS insurrection. By the l980s there was evidence of population growth of sufficient magnitude to mitigate the erosion of certain social practices. Population growth and other factors considerably stabilized existing clan and sacred house structures, and intensified and complexified exchange between clans, contributing further to social resilience (c.f. McWilliam 2011).

The late New Order brought a series of changes which, while severely undermining the wider Nuaulu environmental base through logging, road-building and transmigration, created (as it were) a niche which they were able to turn to their advantage by using the new infrastructure to return to old territory and to re-assert their identity. With the fall of Suharto, *reformasi* and *otonomi daerah*, they were able to pursue politically their desire for a separate *desa* in their homeland, in the context of similar struggles elsewhere in Indonesia (Duncan 2007) where groups have tried to recreate territorial

arrangements that had long disappeared. In the Nuaulu case, however, although most clans have long been separated from traditional territories, being inland and upland these areas were late to be developed by the government and Nuaulu had a realistic hope of reclaiming them in some form. Paradoxically, the communal conflict between Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas between 1999 and 2003, unleashed by political changes taking place at the centre of the state, at the same time reinforced Nuaulu sense of identity and wish to separate from the two dominant but polarized faith groups. The political process was facilitated by higher levels of education among key players (schooling had grown steadily from almost total illiteracy and resistance during the 1970s), and by access to new communications technologies.[7] Thus, Nuaulu appeared to be pursuing what we might describe – paradoxically – as a 'traditionalist pathway to modernity', an attempt to combine key elements of their existing culture with the trappings of modern economy, communication, schooling and participation in civil society. Moreover, Nuanea itself provided an alternative vision of modernity. Some Nuaulu Christians caught up in the communal conflict, and facing exiled lives and poverty, could well wonder whether religious conversion, as in the conventional state-encouraged version of 'development', was indeed the best route to modernity. This vision is described here as 'alternative' because among Indonesian peoples more generally, and certainly in the eyes of the government, religious conversion and the active role of religious organizations has historically been strongly associated with the road to modernity (Grzimek 1991; Hagen 2006: 169), and in this area becoming Christian was entangled with a yearning for modernity (Tsing 1993). However, conversion, with its erosion of food-sharing practices, and the rise of individualism, often led to formlessness and a loss of certainty about what 'structure' was guiding everyday social relations. As Hagen (2006: 168) puts it for Maneo, 'clans do not appear to do much after conversion.'

None of this would have been possible – however – without dramatic population growth, linguistic robustness and minimal religious conversion, which, combined, increased the absolute number and visibility of Nuaulu animists. But there have clearly been costs, not only the communal conflict between 1998 and 2003, loss of life through resurgent head-taking or the erosion of a resource base through predatory expropriation, or their own involvement in land sale; but also sociocultural costs that threaten the very

‘traditional’ way of life they seek to preserve. Schooling is marginalizing younger Nuaulu from large areas of traditional knowledge, ‘tradition’ is becoming a more specialized area of expertise, while the gap between illiterate elders knowledgeable about *adat* and younger literate streetwise secular leaders grows wider. There is a truce at the moment mainly conditioned by a sense of relative prosperity, but Nuaulu are quick to proclaim their ‘poverty’, and tensions under the surface are always ready to erupt. Moreover, the achievement in establishing Nuanea has reinforced divisions between Nuanea itself and the other Nuaulu settlements, with some early settlers in Simalouw being unable to adjust to the new life and returning to their old villages along the south coast. Under the new dispensation, the government and other outsiders are understandably minded to see Nuanea as embodying the ‘authentic’ and accepted leadership of Nuaulu as a whole, rather than the more populous Nuaulu villages outside Nuanea territory. It is tempting to think that there was in the recent past one orthodox version of Nuaulu social structure, for example that represented by those who established Nuanea; but the social structure that is reproduced in each generation in each Nuaulu settlement is not some abstract coherent grand orthodox narrative, but simply those local and varied practices that survive and are reinforced in particular places, for particular houses and particular clans.

Conclusion

I have argued in this book that biological reproduction and social reproduction are consubstantial, mutually reinforcing, but different. The social arrangements that local groups enter into are a necessary condition for biological reproduction, but these can adopt a wide variety of forms. As long as these forms enable biological reproduction to take place, that is sufficient. Similarly, biological reproduction is a necessary condition for social reproduction, but all that matters is what happens at a local level. Abstract aggregate notions of social structure, even if they are presented as socio-cosmic models are just that, the abstractions of the people who hold them, albeit abstractions that may impact on the biology of local populations and

individuals. Yet there must be sufficient agreement amongst people as to how their society works for it to be reproduced at all.

‘Social’ reproduction is a slippery, often misleading, concept. While it is frequently parental and grandparental generations that deliberately seek to ensure that the social practices which they prefer are continued by the new generation, it is clearly not necessary that society ‘as a whole’ be reproduced to ensure biological fitness and continuity. Social change obviously takes place at all levels of organization, and at the higher societal levels can sometimes be dramatic, without there being population implosion. In terms of biological reproduction, it is the lower level organizational components impinging directly on the effectiveness of mating, care-giving, cooperation, resourcing and knowledge transmission that are crucial and must attain sufficient stability to ensure continuity, though even at this level there is slow incremental change and adaptation. However, such organizational matrices themselves work more reliably when part of a wider social and symbolic context, despite these contexts being at risk of radical social change such as that found in religious conversion.

Inevitably, there are tensions between the processes of biological and social reproduction due to their different immediate objectives, and it is in particular the resolution of these that Paul (2015) seeks to address and explain in the context of dual inheritance theory. Indeed, social systems are always to some degree opposed to genetic fitness and biological process, while culture needs genetic reproduction only to take place somewhere in the system for it to ensure biological continuity. I follow Paul in emphasizing that the sociocultural system can often override genetic adaptation (a well-enough-observed phenomenon), for instance through the suppression of sexual behaviour, different iterations of the cultural relationship between men and women, a preference for adoptive over genetic kin, of alliance over exogamy and so on. I have tried to show how biological and cultural reproduction are reconciled in the Nuaulu case, how the strong imperatives of the genetic system are symbolized, transformed and harnessed for the reproduction of the sociocultural system.

One underlying difficulty common to many critiques of evolutionary explanations of sociocultural phenomena is how to convincingly explain the mechanisms by which beneficial arrangements arise, especially without lapsing into anthropomorphism suggesting that a system ‘pursues an independent reproductive goal’ (Paul 2015: 41). Although ‘societies’ are entified by social actors and have real material consequences for how people

interact, they are conceptually second-order – reified – constructs. In explaining social reproduction from an evolutionary perspective, we need to differentiate between abstract values and concepts (e.g. norms of marriage and sexual fidelity) from what people actually do (e.g., rates of divorce and adultery), as it is these latter that directly influence variation and selection. Given that local systems are full of complex emergent properties that can submit to a variety of local explanations, there is no reason to expect or suspect that they must all be consistent with the same explanatory model. The implication here is that the dynamic equilibrium of any given system only has to be 'sufficiently' stable to effectively continue and perhaps even expand and complexify.

Although all cultural practices statistically increase or decrease the adaptability of particular individuals, groups and populations, it is not always apparent when they are exerting enough selective pressure to make a difference, whether in the short term or in the long term; and while cultural artifacts (including symbols) spread more rapidly than genes, they also replicate with less fidelity, which has important knock-on effects in the system. The flexibility of response that has enabled Nuaulu to create their Nuanea is evident in the myriad other ways that they have been able to assert their 'traditionalness' (despite internal disagreements), and adapt through the market, manipulate the political rhetoric of the changing Indonesian constitution and strategize within the contexts of state administration, steering a course between collectively agreed norms and the experience of practice. While, on the one hand, they can assert that their religious practice has fundamentally changed to exclude head-taking, occasional head-taking episodes have continued to take place (Ellen 2002). Such a pragmatic and apparently contradictory approach (only contradictory because it reflects different and variable rational cultural responses to particular situations of dispute and conflict over resources), contrasts with the situation described by Valeri (2000) for the Huaulu, who has claimed that they regard head-taking as absolutely central to their cosmological understandings, even if it appears permanently dormant. This would seem to suggest an inflexibility in Huaulu attempts to accommodate the modern world which are the opposite of what we might characterize as resilience. We can see in the Huaulu (described by Valeri) and in the Nuaulu (described by Ellen) two radically different responses to increased pressures on traditional ways of life (Ellen 2012: 309).

Notes

1 Some caution needs to be exercised when providing Nuaulu population figures. The national government census is probably the most accurate record, but this only gives published data by *desa*. Individual *desa*, and within them individual *dusun*, hold data that are sometimes supplied to the government for other purposes, such as annual statistical digests, but these cannot always be accepted with confidence. As with all censuses, data are only maximally accurate on the day of the census, and Nuaulu freely move residence between different villages depending on kinship obligations and ritual commitments. Moreover, figures are often part of local political negotiations, for example to acquire new administrative designations for settlements (a new *dusun* in the case of Moni, or a new *desa* as in the case of Nuaunea), or part of an argument for additional resources. Finally, with the possible exception of Hahualan, all villages are now ethnically and religiously mixed, other than where self-segregation of Christians occurred during the communal conflict of 1999–2001.

2 On the revival of tradition and *adat* more generally in contemporary Indonesian politics, see Davidson and Henley (2012). On the revival, re-invigoration and resilience of customary forms of organization and the return to ancestral land in another specifically post-conflict situation, see Bovensiepen (2015: 6, 14, 47) on Timor Leste.

3 Following the ‘Maluku wars’ between 1999 and 2003, a *Monumen Basudara* (Brotherhood monument) was erected at the entrance to Kilo Duabelas (Tahena Ukuna) celebrating the enduring friendship between Nuaulu and immigrant Muslim Bandanese. One face of the three-sided prism depicts a male Nuaulu in ceremonial dress shaking hands with a Muslim Bandanese male. The remaining two faces bear the inscription:

Kami atas nama keluarga besar	We, the great family of
Suku Nuaulu dan Banda Muslim	Nuaulu people and Muslim Bandanese
Berikrah dengan sepenuh hati	Pledge with our full hearts
Atas nama Allah SWT	In the name of Allah [may he be glorified and exalted]
Dan para leluhur kami	And of our collective ancestors
Bahwa kami adalah basudara	That we are a brotherhood of
Adik Kakak yang tidak bisa terpisahkan	Younger and elder siblings that can never be separated
Gunung Mawoti dan Gunung Andang Sary	Mount Mawoti and Mount Andang Sary
Bukanlah hanya setumpuk tanah	Are not merely bits of land
Namun keduanya adalah bukti dan saksi	But together proof and witness
Baa ikatan basudara kami	For our bonds of brotherhood

4 The term ‘dual inheritance’ is undeniably itself problematic, given that modes of information transmission are so varied, and Paul perhaps underplays the way in which the two strands interweave through epigenesis, and moreover fudges the difference between transmission that is holistically biological and that which is specifically genetic.

5 Careful comparison within a regional framework is an essential tool of social anthropology. There is relatively little useful ethnographic literature for the central Moluccas that can help in this case, however, though a great deal on, say, Sumba, Flores and Timor, and more recently parts of the southeastern Moluccas. It has become customary to take ‘Eastern Indonesia’ as a distinctive region ever since Van Wouden’s identification of a ‘structural core’, and in Leiden structuralism more widely there is the notion of the *ethnologisch studieveld*, and more recently Errington’s (1990) notion of ‘exchange societies’ and Fox’s (e.g. 1995) much broader framework of pan-Austronesian comparison. The problem with such geographic frameworks is always where and how to draw the boundaries, and whether Nusa Tenggara and Timor provide better comparators than, say, looking at other societies of the Moluccas. Moreover, in either case language similarities are not always a good predictor of other similarities, and since 1980 a model ‘structural core’ has been replaced by a notion that what the societies of eastern Indonesia have in common is less structural than a similar metaphoric repertoire (Fox 1988: xii; Lewis 1988: 7), including concern with origins, pervasiveness of dual classification, symbolic diarchy, ‘house’ as a primary unit of organization, the ‘flow of life’ idiom, marriage alliance, male-female distinctions in ritual and so on. Although these characteristics are individually commonplace in many cultural populations, it is sometimes argued that there is a combination that is distinctive to eastern Indonesia. However interesting this may be, it not my purpose here to provide a systematic overview of these issues in general terms. My aim, rather, has been to look at data on the Nuaulu social formation or assemblage from a somewhat different perspective, unencumbered by the weight of a particular tradition of scholarship, and adopting a perspective in which the cultural similarities across different degrees of geographic and linguistic distance are no more than shared resources that can be constantly reworked in different permutations, each the outcome of a particular history (see e.g. Forth 2001: 288) of attempts to coordinate the basic processes of biological and social reproduction.

6 In an eastern Indonesian context, the typological approach to marriage systems, distinguishing, say, ‘prescriptive’ from ‘non-prescriptive’ or suggesting that one ‘system’ might be transforming into another, is misleading, with a lack of specificity about what the ‘system’ actually is, often suggesting a degree of fixity it is hardly likely to attain, given that local ‘systems’ depend on a particular dynamic of demography interacting with locally specific social relations and cultural conventions (see e.g. Molnar 2000; Gunawan 2000: 9).

7 Nuaulu have an ambiguous relationship with commercial logging. During the 1980s and 1990s, there were reported cases of them leasing land to local logging companies, but also of disputes with various timber operations (Ellen 1999). More recently, protests against logging activity on traditional land have moved to the Internet, such as a 2016 petition addressed to the Indonesian Minister for the Environment and Forests and President Joko Widodo (see: www.change.org/p/menteri-lingkungan-hidup-dan-kehutanan-presiden-joko-widodo-cabut-izin-pt-bintang-lima-makmur-dari-negeri-sepa; accessed 25 November 2017).

Works cited

Allerton, Catherine. 2004. “The Path of Marriage: Journeys and Transformation in Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160 (2–3): 339–62.

Al Qurtuby, Sumanto. 2016. *Religious Violence and Conciliation in Indonesia: Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas*. London and New York: Routledge.

Amahai Dalam Angka. 2014. *Kecamatan Amahai Dalam Angka 2014*. Amahai: Badan Pusat Statistik, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah.

Atlas Bahasa Tanah Maluku. 1996. Ambon: Pusat Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Maluku, Universitas Pattimura and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Barnard, Alan. 1996. “Relationship Terminology.” In *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, edited by Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, pp. 602–4. London: Routledge.

Barnard, Alan and Anthony Good. 1984. *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship*. London: Academic Press.

Barnes, John. 1967. “Genealogies.” In *The Craft of Social Anthropology*, edited by A. L. Epstein, pp. 101–27. London: Tavistock.

Barnes, Robert H. 1974. *Kédang: A Study of the Collective Thought of an Eastern Indonesian People*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 1980a. “Concordance, Structure and Variation: Considerations of Alliance in Kédang.” In *The Flow of Life; Essays on Eastern Indonesia*, edited by James J. Fox, pp. 68–97. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1980b. “Marriage, Exchange and the Meaning of Corporations in Eastern Indonesia.” In *The Meaning of Marriage Payments*, edited by John L. Comaroff, pp. 93–122. London: Academic Press.

Barraud, Cécile. 1979. *Tanêbar-Evav: Une Société de Maisons Tournée Vers le Large*. Paris: CNRS and Cambridge University Press.

———. 1990. “Wife-Givers as Ancestors and Ultimate Values in the Kei Islands.” *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 146: 193–225.

Bartels, Dieter. 1977. *Guarding the Invisible Mountain: Intervillage Alliances: Religious Syncretism and Ethnic Identity among Ambonese Christians and Moslems in the Moluccas*. PhD Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Benjamin, Geoffrey. 1968. “Temiar Personal Names.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124: 99–134.

Bleeker, Pieter. 1856. *Reis door de Minahassa en de Molukschen Archipel. Gedaan in de Maanden September en Oktober 1855 in het Gevolg van den Gouverneur Generaal Mr. A.J. Duymaer van Twist*. [Voyage through the Minahasan and Moluccan Archipelagos: Undertaken in the Months of September and October 1855 with the Retinue of the Governor General Mr. A.J. Duymaer van Twist]. Lange: Batavia.

Blust, Robert A. 1980. “Early Austronesian Social Organization: The Evidence of Language.” *Current Anthropology* 21: 205–47.

———. 2009. *The Austronesian Languages*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Bogin, Barry, Jared Bragg and Christopher Kuzawa. 2014. “Humans Are Not Cooperative Breeders but Practice Biocultural Reproduction.” *Annals of Human Biology* 41 (4): 368–80.

Bolton, Rosemary A. 1990. *A Preliminary Description of Nuaulu Phonology and Grammar*. University of Texas at Arlington: Unpublished MA in Linguistics.

———. 1997a. “Life cycle Ceremonies and the Nuaulu Struggle for Health and Life.” An Unpublished Tutorial Paper in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA.

———. 1997b. “The Social Context of Nuaulu Struggle for Health and Life.” An Unpublished Tutorial Paper in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Intercultural Studies. Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA.

———. 1999a. *Nuaulu and Biblical World View, Ritual Symbolism, and the Translation of Baptize and Lord’s Supper*. PhD Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA.

———. 1999b. “Nuaulu Kinship and Marriage.” Pattimura University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Unpublished.
Bolton, Rosemary A. and Hunanatu Matoke. 2005. *Kamus Sou Naunue-Sou Manai, Bahasa Indonesia-Nuaulu*. Ambon: Program Kerja Sama, Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Propinsi Maluku dan SIL [Summer Institute of Linguistics] International, Cabang Maluku.
Boulan-Smit, Christine. 2010. “Traditional Territorial Categories and Constituent Institutions in West Seram: The *nili ela* of Wele Telu Batai and the Alune *hena* of Ma’saman Uwei.” In *Sharing the Earth, Dividing the Land: Land and Territory in the Austronesian World*, edited by Thomas Reuter, pp. 157–77. Canberra: ANU Press.
Bovensiepen, Judith M. 2015. *The Land of Gold: Post-Conflict Recovery and Cultural Revival in Independent Timor-Leste*. [Studies on Southeast Asia 67] Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications.
Boyd, Robert and Peter Richerson. 1985. *Culture and the Evolutionary Process*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Carsten, Janet and Stephen Hugh-Jones, eds. 1995. *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Clamagirand, Brigitte. 1980. “Social Organization of the Ema of Timor.” In *The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia*, edited by James Fox, pp. 134–51. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
Cohen, Ronald. 1978. “Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7: 379–403.
Collins, James T. 1980. *The Historical Relationship of the Languages of Central Maluku, Indonesia*. University of Chicago: Unpublished PhD dissertation.
Cooley, Frank L. 1962a. “Ambonese Kin Groups.” *Ethnology* 1: 102–12.
———. 1962b. *Ambonese Adat: A General Description*. [Cultural Report Series No. 10] New Haven, CT: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies.
Crab, P. van der. 1862. *De Moluksche eilanden: Reis van Z. E. Den Gouverneur Generaal C. P. Pahud*. Batavia: Lange.
Cunningham, Clark E. 1966. “Categories of Descent Groups in a Timor Village.” *Oceania* 37: 13–21.
———. 1967. “Recruitment to Atoni Descent Groups.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 40: 1–12.
Sensus Penduduk Desa Sepa. 2010. Data Penduduk dan K.K. Negeri Sepa dan Pertuanan Berdasarkan Sensus Penduduk Tahun 2010.

Unpublished.
Davidson, Jamie and David Henley. 2012. *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. London: Routledge.
Deacon, Terrence W. 1997. *The Symbolic Species: The Co-Evolution of Language and the Brain*. New York: W.W. Norton.
Deninger, Karl. 1914. “Morphologische Uebersicht der Insel Seran.” *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 60: 16–18.
Dijk, Toos van and Nico de Jonge. 1987. “The House on the Hill: Moieties and Double-Descent in Babar.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 143: 54–104.
Duncan, Christopher R. 2007. “Mixed Outcomes: The Impact of Regional Autonomy and Decentralization on Indigenous Ethnic Minorities in Indonesia.” *Development and Change* 38 (4): 711–33.
Duyvendak, J. P. 1926. *Het Kakean-genootschap van Seran*. Almelo: Hilarius.
Ellen, Roy F. 1977. “Resource and Commodity: Problems in the Analysis of the Social Relations of Nuaulu Land Use.” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 33: 50–72.
———. 1978. *Nuaulu Settlement and Ecology: The Environmental Relations of an Eastern Indonesian Community*. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde 83] The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
———. 1980. “Cognitive Models and Total Structures: A Re-Examination.” In *The Nature of Structure*, edited by Gretchen A. Moyer, David S. Moyer and P. E. de Josselin de Jong, pp. 95–145. [ICS Publications 45] Leiden: Leiden University, Institute of Cultural and Social Studies.
———. 1983. “Semantic Anarchy and Ordered Social Practice in Nuaulu Personal Naming.” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139: 18–45.
———. 1988. “Ritual, Identity and the Management of Inter-ethnic Relations on Seram.” In *Time Past, Time Present, Time Future: Perspectives on Indonesian Culture: Essays in Honour of Professor P.E. de Josselin de Jong*, edited by Henri J. M. Claessen and David S. Moyer, pp. 117–35. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor

Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 131] Dordrecht, Holland and Providence, USA: Foris.

———. 1992. “Review of: ‘Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia’, edited by Jane Monnig Atkinson and Shelly Errington.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60 (2): 378–80.

———. 1993. *The Cultural Relations of Classification: An Analysis of Nuaulu Animal Categories from Central Seram*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1999. “Forest Knowledge, Forest Transformation: Political Contingency, Historical Ecology and the Renegotiation of Nature in Central Seram.” In *Transforming the Indonesian Uplands: Marginality, Power and Production*, edited by Tania Li, pp. 131–57. Amsterdam: Harwood.

———. 2002. “Nuaulu Head-Taking: Negotiating the Twin Dangers of Presentist and Essentialist Reconstructions.” *Social Anthropology* 10 (3): 281–301.

———. 2003. *On the Edge of the Banda Zone: Past and Present in the Social Organization of a Moluccan Trading Network*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.

———. 2004. “Escalating Socio-Environmental Stress and the Preconditions for Political Instability in South Seram: The Very Special Case of the Nuaulu.” *Cakalele: Maluku Research Journal* 11: 41–64.

———. 2010. “Why Aren’t the Nuaulu Like the Matsigenka? Knowledge and Categorization of Forest Diversity on Seram, Eastern Indonesia.” In *Landscape Ethnoecology: Concepts of Biotic and Physical Space*, edited by Leslie M. Johnson and Eugenne S. Hunn, pp. 116–40. [Studies in Environmental Anthropology and Ethnobiology, vol. 9] Oxford: Berghahn.

———. 2012. *Nuaulu Religious Practices: The Frequency and Reproduction of Rituals in a Moluccan Society*. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 283] Leiden: KITLV Press.

———. 2014. “Pragmatism, Identity and the State: How the Nuaulu of Seram Have Re-Invented Their Beliefs and Practices as ‘Religion’.” *Wacana: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya* 15 (2): 254–85.

———. 2016. “The Cultural Cognition of Time: Some Anthropological Perspectives.” In *Conceptualizations of Time*, edited by Barbara

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, pp. 107–31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
———. 2018. “Cultural Adaptation.” In *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, edited by Hilary Callan. Oxford: Wiley.
———. n.d. “Contrasting Acoustical Signatures and the Power in Ritual: Some Evidence from Nuaulu Spirit Healing in the Moluccan Islands.” In *Hearing Southeast Asia, Sounds of Hierarchy and Power in Context*, edited by Nathan Porath, in preparation.
Errington, Shelly. 1990. “Recasting Sex, Gender, and Power: A Theoretical and Regional Overview.” In *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia*, edited by Jane M. Atkinson and Shelly Errington, pp. 1–58. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Firth, Raymond. 1951. *Elements of Social Organization*. London: Watts.
Florey, Margaret and Rosemary A. Bolton. 1997. “Personal Names, Lexical Replacement, and Language Shift in Eastern Indonesia.” *Cakalele: Maluku Research Journal* 8: 27–58.
Fortes, Meyer. 1966. “Introduction.” In *The Developmental Cycle of Domestic Groups*, edited by Jack Goody, pp. 1–14. [Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology 1] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Forth, Gregory. 1981. *Rindi: An Ethnographic study of a Traditional Domain in Eastern Sumba*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
———. 2001. *Dualism and Hierarchy: Processes of Binary Combination in Keo Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Fox, James J., ed. 1980a. *The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
———. 1980b. “Models and Metaphors: Comparative Research in Eastern Indonesia.” In *The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 327–33. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
———. 1988. “Foreword.” In *People of the Source: The Social and Ceremonial Order of Tana Wai Brama on Flores*, edited by E. D. Lewis, pp. xi–xiv. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 135] Dordrecht: Foris.
———. 1995. “The Austronesians in History: Common Origins and Diverse Transformations” (with P. Bellwood, and D. Tryon). In *The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by P. Bellwood, J. J. Fox and D. Tryon, pp. 1–16. Canberra: Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.
———. 1996. “The Transformation of Progenitor Lines of Origin: Patterns of Precedence.” In *Origins, Ancestry and Alliance: Explorations in*

Austronesian Ethnography, edited by James J. Fox and Clifford A. Sather, pp. 130–53. Canberra: Department of Anthropology, Australian National University.

———. 1997. “Genealogy and Topogeny: Toward an Ethnography of Rotinese Ritual Place Names.” In *The Poetic Power of Place: Comparative Perspectives on Austronesian Ideas of Locality*, edited by James J. Fox, pp. 91–102. Canberra: The Australian National University.

———. 1999. “Precedence in Practice among the Atoni Pah Meto of Timor.” In *Structuralism’s Transformations: Order and Revisions in Indonesia and Malaysia*, edited by L. V. Aragon and S. Russell, pp. 3–36. Tucson: Arizona State University.

Fox, Robin. 1967. *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective*. Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Fraassen, Chris F. van. 1983. “Historical Introduction.” In *The Central Moluccas: An Annotated Bibliography*, compiled by Katrien Polman, pp. 1–59. [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volknkunde, Bibliographical series 12] Foris: Dordrecht.

Geertz, Clifford. 1975. “Person, Time and Conduct in Bali.” In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. London: Hutchinson. [First published 1966, Yale Southeast Asia Program, Cultural Report Series, 14. References are to 1975 edition].

Geertz, Hildred and Clifford Geertz. 1964. “Teknonymy in Bali: Parenthood, Age-Grading, and Genealogical Amnesia.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 94 (2): 94–108.

Geirnaert-Martin, Danielle. 1992. *The Woven Land of Laboya: Socio-Cosmic Ideas and Values in West Sumba, Eastern Indonesia*. Leiden: Centre for Non-Western Studies, Leiden University.

George, Kenneth M. 1996. *Showing Signs of Violence: The Cultural Politics of a Twentieth Century Headhunting Ritual*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goodenough, Ward H. 1965. “Personal Names and Modes of Address in Two Oceanic Societies.” In *Context and Meaning in Cultural Anthropology*, edited by Melvin Spiro, pp. 265–76. New York: Free Press.

Gordon, John L. 1980. “The Marriage Nexus Among the Manggarai of West Flores.” In *The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia*, edited by James J. Fox, pp. 48–67. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grimes, Barbara D. 1996. “The Founding of the House and the Source of Life: Two Complementary Origin Structures in Buru Society.” In *Origin, Ancestry and Alliance: Explorations in Austronesian Ethnography*, edited by James J. Fox and Clifford Sather, pp. 199–215. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies.

Grinevald, Colette. 2000. “A Morpho-Syntactic Typology of Classifiers.” In *Systems of Nominal Classification*, edited by G. Senft, pp. 50–92. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grzimek, Benno R. O. 1991. *Social Change on Seram: A Study of Ideologies of Development in Eastern Indonesia*. PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London, London.

Gunawan, Istutiah Mitchell. 2000. *Hierarchy and Balance: A Study of Wanokaka Social Organization*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Haar, Barend ter. 1948. *Adat law in Indonesia*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.

Hagen, James M. 2006. *Community in the Balance: Morality and Social Change in an Indonesian Society*. Boulder and London: Paradigm.

Hatt, Ken. 2013. “Social Attractors: A Proposal to Enhance ‘Resilience Thinking’ about the Social.” *Society and Natural Resources* 26 (1): 30–43.

Heider, Karl G. 1978. “Accounting for Variation: A Nonformal Analysis of Grand Valley Dani Kinship Terms.” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 34: 219–62.

Hicks, David. 1983. “A Transitional Relationship Terminology of Asymmetric Prescriptive Alliance Among the Makassai of Eastern Indonesia.” *Sociologus* 33 (1): 73–85.

———. 1986. “The Relationship Terminology of the Ema.” *Sociologus* 36 (2): 162–71.

———. 1987. “Tetum Descent.” *Anthropos* 82: 47–61.

———. 1990. *Kinship and Religion in Eastern Indonesia*. [Gothenburg Studies in Social Anthropology 12] Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Holleman, Frederik D. 1923. *Het Adat-grondenrecht van Ambon en de Oeliasers*. [Molukken-Instituut te Amsterdam] Delft: W. D. Meinema.

Homans, George C. and David M. Schneider. 1955. *Marriage, Authority and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Hornborg, Alf. 2013. "Revelations of Resilience: From the Ideological Disarmament of Disaster to the Revolutionary Implications of (P)anarchy." *Resilience* 1 (2): 116–29.

Hoskins, Janet. 1998. *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives*. New York and London: Routledge.

Howell, Signe. 1989. "Of Persons and Things: Exchange and Valuables Among the Lio of Eastern Indonesia." *Man* 24: 419–38.

Jensen, Adolf E. 1948. *Die Drei Ströme: Züge aus dem Geistigen und Religiösen Leben oder Wemale, einen Primitieven-Volk in den Molukken*. [Ergebnisse der Frobenius Expedition 1937–1938 in die Molukken und nach Holländisch Neu-Guinea, 2] Leipzig: Otto Harrrassowitz.

Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de. 1970 [1952]. *Lévi-Strauss's Theory on Kinship and Marriage*. [Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 10] Leiden: E.J. Brill.

———. 1977a [1935]. "The Malay Archipelago as a Field of Ethnological Study." In *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands: A Reader*, edited by Patrick E. de Josselin de Jong, pp. 164–82. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Josselin de Jong, Patrick E. de, ed. 1977b. *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands: A Reader*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Juynboll, Hendrik H. 1930. *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums, Band XXI. Molukken 1*. [Sula-inseln, Buru, Ambon und Ceram: Erster Teil]. Leiden: Brill.

Kaartinen, Timo. 2011. *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place: Poetics of Absence in an Eastern Indonesian Society*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Kemp, Jeremy H. 1983. "Kinship and the Management of Personal Relations: Kin Terminologies and the 'Axiom of Amity'." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139 (1): 81–98.

King, Victor T. 1979. *Ethnic Classification and Ethnic Relations: A Borneo Case Study*. [Occasional Paper, 2] Hull: Centre for South-East Asian

Studies, University of Hull.
Knaap, Gerrit J. 1993. “The Saniri Tiga Air (Seram): An Account of Its Discovery and Interpretation between about 1675 and 1950.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149 (2): 250–73.
Leach, Edmund R. 1964 [1954]. *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London: Bell.
Lebar, Frank M., ed. 1972, 1975. *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia, vols I and II*. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press.
Lebar, Frank M., Gerald C. Hickey and J. K. Musgrave, eds. 1964. *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files Press.
Lee, Juliet P. 1997. “The Changing Face of the Village in Ambon.” *Cakalele: Maluku Research Journal* 8: 59–77.
Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1963. *Structural Anthropology*. New York and London: Basic Books.
———. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
———. 1970. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. London: Social Science Paperback, Tavistock Publications. English translation of 1949 *Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté*, by J. H. Bell, J. R. von Sturmer and Rodney Needham.
———. 1982. *The Way of the Mask*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Lewis, E. Douglas. 1988. *People of the Source: The Social and Ceremonial Order of Tana Wai Brama on Flores*. [KITLV, Verhandelingen 135.] Dordrecht: Foris.
MacFarlane, Alan. 1976. *Resources and Population: A Study of the Gurungs of Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McKinnon, Susan. 1991. *From a Shattered Sun: Hierarchy, Gender and Alliance in the Tanimbar Islands*. Madison, WN: University of Wisconsin Press.
———. 1995. “Houses and Hierarchy: The View from a South Moluccan Society.” In *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, edited by Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, pp. 170–88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McWilliam, Andrew. 2011. “Exchange and Resilience in Timor-Leste.” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (4): 745–63.

Moerman, Michael. 1965. “Who Are the Lue?” *American Anthropologist* 67: 1215–30.

———. 1968. “Being Lue: Uses and Abuses of Ethnic Identification.” In *Essays on the Problem of the Tribe*, edited by June Helm, pp. 133–69. [Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society] Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Molnar, Andrea K. 2000. *Grandchildren of the Ga’e Ancestors: Social Organization and Cosmology among the Hoga Sara of Flores*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Morgan, Lewis H. 1877. *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Murdock, George P. 1949. *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan.

———. ed. 1960. *Social Structure in Southeast Asia*. [Viking Publications in Anthropology 29] Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

Needham, Rodney. 1962. *Structure and Sentiment: A Test Case in Social Anthropology*. Chicago and London: Chicago University Press.

———. 1966. “Terminology and Alliance, I: Garo, Manggarai.” *Sociologus* 16: 141–57.

———. 1967. “Terminology and Alliance, II: Mapuche, Conclusions.” *Sociologus* 17: 39–53.

———. 1968. “Endeh: Terminology, Alliance, and Analysis.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124: 305–35.

———. 1973. Prescription. *Oceania* 42, 166–81.

———. 1974. *Remarks and Inventions: Sceptical Essays about Kinship*. London: Tavistock Publications.

———. 1980. “Principles and Variations in the Structure of Sumbanese Society.” In *The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia*, edited by James J. Fox, pp. 21–47. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1987. *Mamboru: History and Structure in a Domain of Northwestern Sumba*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

NSID. 1918. *A Manual of Netherlands India (Dutch East Indies)*. [Publication 1209] London: Naval Staff Intelligence Department.

Pannell, Sandra. 1990. “‘Now We Follow Our Father’: Christianity, Colonialism and Cultural Transformation on the Island of Damer, Maluku Tenggara.” *Cakalele: Maluku Research Journal* 1: 27–46.

Parkin, Robert. 1997. *Kinship: An Introduction to Basic Concepts*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Paul, Robert A. 2015. *Mixed Messages: Cultural and Genetic Inheritance in the Constitution of Human Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pauwels, Simone. 1994. “Sibling Relations and (In)temporality: Towards a Definition of the House (Eastern Indonesia).” In *Halmahera and Beyond: Social Science Research in the Moluccas in the 1980s*, edited by Leontine E. Visser, pp. 79–96. [KITLV Proceedings No. 1] Leiden: KITLV Press.

———. 2009. *Metanleru, Un Voilier Prédateur: Renommée et Fertilité dans L’île de Selaru*. Paris: Les Indes Savantes.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. 1950. “Introduction.” In *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, pp. 1–85. London: Oxford University Press and International African Institute.

———. 1952 [1933]. “Social Sanctions.” In *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, pp. 205–11. London: Cohen and West.

Rappaport, Roy A. 1971. “The Sacred in Human Evolution.” *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 2: 23–44.

Read, Dwight, Michael Fischer, and Lehman, F. Kris (Chit Hliang). 2014. “The Cultural Grounding of Kinship: A Paradigm Shift.” *L’Homme* 210 (2): 63–89.

Reid, Anthony. 1988. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Renard-Clamagirand, Brigitte. 1982. *Marobo: Une Société Ema de Timor*. [Langues et Civilisations de l’Asie du sud-est et du Monde Insulindien 12] Paris: SELAF.

“Resolusi Haruku”. 2016. Musyawarah Wilayah ke-II Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusan-tara (AMAN) Maluku. Negeri Haruku, Kabupaten Maluku Tengah, Propinsi Maluku, 22 Oktober.

Resusun, Tommy R. 2012. *Perempuan Nuaulu: Posisi Perempuan Nuaulu Di Negeri Nua Nea Kecamatan Amahai Kabupaten Maluku Tengah*. Pasca Sarjana, Ambon: Universitas Pattimura.

Richerson, Peter J. and Robert Boyd. 2005. *Not by Genes Alone: How Culture Transformed Human Evolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Röder, Josef. 1948. *Alahatala: Die Religion der Inlandstämme Mittelcerams*. Bamberg: Bamberger Verlagshaus Meisenbach and Co.

Rosenberg, C. B. H. von. 1867. “Beschrijving van Eenige Gedeelten van Ceram.” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 16: 97–182.

Rumpf, Georg Eberhard (Rumphius). 1674–1678. *De Generale Landbeschrijving van het Ambonsche Gouvernement*. Alegemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague) VOC 11245, 130–1, 11247. [manuscript].

Rumphius, Georgius E. 1910. “De Ambonsche Historie.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 64: 1–147.

Sachse, F.J.P. 1907. *Het Eiland Seran en Zijne Bewoners*. Leiden: Brill.

Sahlins, Marshall. 2011. “What Kinship Is.” Parts 1 and 2. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (1–2): 1–19, 227–42.

Sauer, Jacob J. 2015. *The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Araucanian Resilience*. New York: Springer.

Schulte Nordholt, Henk and Gerry van Klinken. 2007. “Introduction.” In *Renegotiating Boundaries: Local Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia*, edited by Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken, pp. 1–29. Leiden: KITLV press.

Seran. 1922. *Seran*. [Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor Bestuurzaken der Buitenbezittingen, bewerkt door het Encylopaedisch Bureau 29] Weltevreden: Kolff.

Sercombe, Peter G. and Bernard Sellato, eds. 2007. *Beyond the Green Myth: Hunter-Gatherers of Borneo in the Twenty-First Century*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies.

Strathern, Andrew. 1970. “Wiru Penthonyms.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 126: 59–74.

Stresemann, Edwin. 1927. “Die Lauterscheinungen in den ambonischen Sprachen.” *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 10.

Tauern, Otto D. 1918. *Patasiwa und Patalima: vom Molulukkeneiland Seran und seinen Bewohnern*. Leipzig: Voigtländer.

Tichelman, Gerard L. 1925. “De onderafdeeling Amahei, Seran.” *Tijdschrift van het Koniklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 42: 653–724.

Tomasello, Michael. 1999. *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tongli, Urbanus. 1994. *La Liaison Nuhune; Mouvements Aller-retour dans la Solidarité Sociocosmique des Nuaulu, île de Seram, Moluques, Indonésie*. PhD Thesis, EHESS, Paris.

Topographische Dienst. 1921. *Eiland Seran en omligggende eilanden* (Scale 1: 500,000), Netherlands.

Traube, Elizabeth. 1986. *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange among the Mambai of East Timor*. London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 1993. *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tyler, Stephen A. 1969. "Context and Variation in Koya Kinship Terminology." In *Cognitive Anthropology*, edited by Stephen A. Tyler, pp. 487–503. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Valentijn, François. 1862 [1724–26]. *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, edited by S. Keijzer. Vols. 1–2. Amsterdam: Van Kesteren.

Valeri, Valerio. 1975–6. "Alliances et Échanges Matrimoniaux a Seram Central (Moluques)." *L'Homme* 15 (3–4): 83–107; 16 (1): 125–49.

———. 1980. "Notes on the Meaning of Marriage Prestations among the Huaulu of Seram." In *The Flow of Life; Essays on Eastern Indonesia*, edited by James J. Fox, pp. 178–92. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 1989. "Reciprocal Centers: The Siwa-Lima System in the Central Moluccas." In *The Attraction of Opposites*, edited by David Maybury-Lewis and Uri Almagor, pp. 117–41. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

———. 1994. "Buying Women but Not Selling Them: Gift and Commodity Exchange in Huaulu Alliance." *Man* (N.S.) 29 (1): 1–26.

———. 2000. *The Forest of Taboos: Morality, Hunting, and Identity among the Huaulu of the Moluccas*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

———. 2001. *Fragments from Forests and Libraries*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Visser, Leontine E. 1989. *My Rice Field Is My Child: Social and Territorial Aspects of Swidden Cultivation in Sahu, Eastern Indonesia*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Waterson, Roxanna. 1995. "Houses and Hierarchies in Island Southeast Asia." In *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, edited by Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones, pp. 47–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weiner, Annette B. 1992 . *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping While Giving*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wouden, F. A. E. van. 1968 [1935]. *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*. [Translated by Rodney Needham, KITLV Translation Series 11] The Hague: Nijhoff. [Originally published as *Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*, 1935. Leiden: Ginsberg.]

———. 1977. “Local Groups and Double Descent in Kodi, West Sumba.” In *Structural Anthropology in the Netherlands: A Reader*, edited by Patrick E. de Josselin de Jong, pp. 184–222. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff [Originally published 1956 as “Locale Groepen en Dubbele Afstamming in Kodi, West Sumba.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 112 (2): 204–46].

Zeitlyn, David. 1993. “Reconstructing Kinship or the Pragmatics of Kin Talk.” *Man (N.S.)* 28(2): 199–224.

———. 2005. *Words and Processes in Mambila Kinship: The Theoretical Importance of the Complexity of Everyday Life*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books (Rowman and Littlefield).

Index

adaptation, cultural 196, 199
adat revivalism 178, 181, 198, 200n2
administrative districts and boundaries 4, 10, 19–20, 30, 33, 35n10, 175–83, 186, 190, 199, 200n1
adoption 11, 53–4, 73–6, 111; *see also* fostering
adultery 199
ahinae 41
ahuta Sepa 127
aisene 125
akahai umau 72
Alifuru 17, 19, 27
Allerton, C. 13n2, 133–4, 192
alliance 1, 3–4, 7, 12n2, 13n2, 15, 17, 33, 35n8, 41, 48, 50, 54–5, 78n1, 87–8, 99–100, 102–3, 108, 110, 113–14, 120, 128, 130, 132–56, 170, 188–93, 199, 201n5
Al Qurtuby, S. 181
Alune 9, 14, 19
ama 74–5, 77, 81–2, 90–2, 94–8, 100n1
Amahai 18, 23, 25, 28–9, 35, 109, 163, 166–7, 171, 175, 178–9, 181
AMAN (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara) 181
ambil anak 53, 76
Ambon 15, 17–18, 25, 34n1, 55n2, 105–6, 108–9, 172, 175, 183, 193–4
Ambonese Malay 11, 15, 22, 36, 58, 76, 98
ana 81–2, 91–2, 94, 96, 101
anahua 56n5
anak harta 76
ancestors 34, 36, 38–9, 44, 49, 58, 61, 65, 77, 87–9, 90, 96, 99, 104, 107–8, 110, 112, 115, 122, 125, 129–30, 155, 158–9, 165, 167–9, 173, 182, 186, 188, 200n3; spirits 30, 34, 42, 44, 47, 50, 53, 60–1, 64, 70, 72, 74, 76, 84, 86, 88, 91–2, 106, 122–3, 126, 129, 163, 170
animism 1, 17, 19, 33, 34n4, 115, 175, 177, 189, 197
apiara 73, 98, 167; *see also* adoption; fostering
apusaa nuhune 126, 129
aratae 114–16, 126, 131n5, 134, 149
asau 87, 107; *see also* fines
Asian Financial Crisis 119
ataone 124
Ata Tana ‘Ai 35n12, 56n7, 132, 135, 156n1
Atoni 150
avoidance behavior, affinal 70, 87, 96–7, 112–13, 149, 159–61, 165

baileo 24, 36

Banda 24–5, 178, 200n3
Banda Eli 57
Barnard, A. 2, 11–12, 97, 135, 187
Barnes, J. 11
Barnes, R. H. 3, 12, 114, 133, 155, 157n2
Barraud, C. 3, 56n4, 57, 133
Bartels, D. 34n3
Benjamin, G. 91, 99
Besi 15, 17, 19–20, 26–7, 34, 179
betel 70, 120–3, 125–9, 131n4, 161
bilaterality 3, 9, 132, 134, 149, 154–6, 189
Bleeker, P. 19–20
blood (***nasi***) 26, 41, 53, 58, 64–5, 115, 146, 161, 189, 191–2
Blust, R. A. 80, 101
Bogin, B. 188
Bolton, R. A. 2, 10–12, 18, 30, 43, 58, 61, 76, 80, 82–4, 86, 96–7, 103, 110, 119, 125, 130n1, 130n2, 132, 149, 176
Borneo 14
Boulan-Smit, C. 9, 27
Bovensiepen, J. M. 35n8, 200n2
Boyd, R. 188
Brennan, E. 10
bride service *see* ***konaupu***
bridewealth *see* marriage wealth
Buru 54, 58
Buton 52, 106, 108, 175, 187

Carsten, J. 57
Catholicism 171, 193
change: administrative 20, 177–83; political 10, 197; socio-economic 19, 54, 79, 84, 117, 158, 190, 194, 198–9
Christianity 10, 13n3, 15, 17, 19, 30, 32–3, 70, 84, 105–9, 164, 172, 175, 177–8, 181–2, 186, 189–90, 193, 197, 200n1
Clamagirand, B. 3, 12n2, 78n1, 132, 135
clans: access to land 33–4, 38, 42–4, 49–50, 53, 55n2, 73–4, 111, 114, 186, 198, 200n2, 201n7; connectedness between 94, 99, 129, 140–8, 150–1, 156n2, 169, 184; contraction 56n8; genealogical relations between 69–71; history and origins of 22–33; merging 30, 33, 35n13, 42, 185; movement to coast 27–33; names 11, 22, 24, 32, 38, 41, 55, 74, 83, 139; segmentation 22, 27, 36–42, 58, 60, 108, 138–40, 172, 183; separate hamlets for 19, 22–7, 32, 36, 55; sub- 11, 29, 30, 36, 38–43, 46, 55, 56n8, 60, 63–4, 83, 86, 108, 134, 137, 140, 145–6, 157n4, 172, 183–4, 186, 188; vitality of 10, 117, 183–7
Cohen, R. 14
Collins, J. T. 18
communal conflict 1, 19, 30, 33, 175, 178, 181, 186, 197, 200n1
comparative ethnography 3, 10, 12n2, 43, 55n1, 55n2, 56n2, 56n3, 56n4, 56n6, 56n7, 56n8, 58, 76, 78n1, 104–5, 120, 156n1, 156n2, 157n2, 190–4, 201n5
complementarity 8, 36, 47, 49, 58, 91, 103, 150, 165
connubium 46, 150
conversion, religious 3, 13n3, 30, 33, 49, 56n3, 151, 173, 175, 181, 190–1, 193–4, 197, 199
Cooley, F. L. 18, 35n6, 54, 55n2, 104–5, 108–9, 193

corporate groups 1, 14, 35n12, 42, 44–5, 47, 51, 53–5, 56n4, 57, 71, 87, 188–92
cosmology 8–9, 57, 94, 125, 188, 198, 200
Crab, P. Van der 19, 25, 27, 32
cross-cousin 92–3, 95, 161; classificatory 132–4, 156, 195; genealogical (***hota susu***, ***makae susu***) 132–4, 156, 195; marriage between *see* marriage (***ausaha***)
Cunningham, C. E. 54
cuscus 123, 126–7

dammar resin 117, 123, 127
dati 45–6
Davidson, J. 200n2
Deacon, T. W. 79
deforestation 1, 173; *see also* logging
demography: age and sex profiles 163, 177, 185; bottlenecks 33, 55, 196–7; change 10, 19, 30, 105, 173–7; erosion 1, 190, 196; fitness 138–40
Deninger, K. 15, 19, 25
desa, concept 10, 20, 33, 60, 106, 175, 178–9, 181–4, 186, 197, 200n1
descent: concept 9, 43–4, 47, 49, 54–5, 56n4, 58, 82, 99, 102, 120, 133, 189–91; double (*also* bilineal and dual) 42, 44–51, 54, 76; lines 3, 11, 34, 41–6, 48, 51, 53, 61–4, 71, 76, 84, 161–2, 191; matrilineal 45–51, 54, 56n7; patrilineal 4, 36, 40, 42, 44–7, 49, 51, 53–4, 61, 69, 71, 83–4, 88–9, 92, 115, 156n2, 189; unilineal 46, 48, 54, 55n2, 72, 76, 90
developmental terms 80–3, 87, 98–100
diarchy 4, 38, 58, 201n5
Dijk, T. Van 3
divorce 69, 74–5, 98, 110, 130, 158, 161–4, 199
domestic groups 9, 47, 51, 57, 64–5, 69, 71–3, 78n3, 161, 188; developmental cycle of 65, 71–3, 104
dual inheritance theory 50, 188, 199, 201n4
duality 36, 49, 192
Dumont, L. 8
Duncan, C. R. 3, 197
Durkheim, É. 35n6
Dutch: colonialism 14–17, 19, 22, 27, 19, 22, 27, 30, 33, 35n10, 119, 181, 106; East India Company (VOC) 14–15, 17, 34n1; scholarship 2, 12n2, 150
Duyvendak, J. P. 14, 35n6
dwellings 49, 51, 57, 64–7, 72, 78n2, 78n3, 124, 134

education 10, 22, 73, 105–7, 161, 165, 182, 187, 197–8
Ellen, R. F. 3, 8, 12n1, 18, 26, 31, 33–4, 34n1, 34n4, 35n6, 36, 50, 56n2, 58, 82–3, 97, 99, 102, 105, 114, 116, 139, 163, 165, 175, 177–8, 182, 184–5, 196, 200, 200n7
elopement 69, 72, 103–11, 119, 125, 130, 130n2, 164, 169–70, 172
Elpaputih 18–19, 22, 24–5, 178–9
Ema 132, 135
enau *see* kindred
Endeh 150
endogamy 56n3, 189; of place 137–8, 146, 154–5, 184
Errington, S. 3, 8, 201n5
etar 56n2, 58
ete 48, 81–2, 94, 96–8
ethnicity 1, 14, 22, 181, 200n1
ethnologische studieveld 45, 201n5

ethnonyms 14, 19, 22, 42
evolutionary approaches 4, 18, 48, 100, 187, 199
exchange: direct or restricted 2–3, 191; simultaneous (***apatuka umau***) 149; societies 8, 201n5; *see also* marriage (***ausaha***), symmetric exchange
exogamy 4, 11, 36, 41, 46, 55, 56n7, 57, 116, 120, 138–40, 150, 172, 184, 199; and exchange 102–3

feasts 70, 72, 115, 120, 124, 126, 128–9
fertility 177, 188
filiation 44–5, 47, 56n5; complementary 45, 47–8, 54, 56n5
fines 91, 107, 161, 164, 169
Firth, R. 192
Fischer, M. D. 10, 79, 188
Flores 35n12, 35n14, 47, 52, 56n6, 56n7, 56n8, 106, 109, 120, 132, 134–6, 201n5
Florey, M. 11, 83–4, 86, 97, 149
Fortes, M. 47, 104
Forth, G. 8, 12n2, 35n14, 56n4, 78n1, 135, 155, 156n1, 157n2, 201n5
fostering 11, 67, 69, 73–5, 90, 98, 163
Fox, J. J. 8, 12n2, 13n2, 35n8, 43, 125, 132–3, 192, 201n5
Fox, R. 3–4, 45, 48, 172
Fraassen, C. F. van 17
Frazer, J. 45

Geertz, C. 98–9
Geertz, H. 98–9
Geirnaert-Martin, D. 156n1
genealogies 11, 12n2, 47, 50, 55, 61, 64, 79, 92, 135–6, 139, 150, 187
gender 13n2, 36, 49, 80, 83, 87, 93, 99, 139, 162, 173, 191
genetics 3, 55–7, 61, 73, 76, 79, 90–1, 199, 201n4
George, K. M. 178
Giddens, A. 190
go-between 110, 112
gongs 41, 109, 115, 131n5
Good, A. 2, 11–12, 135, 187
Goodenough, W. H. 189
Gordon, J. L. 120, 134
Grimes, B. D. 58
Grinevald, C. 101
Grzimek, B. R. O. 3, 190, 193, 197
Gunawan, I. M. 12n2, 45, 56n4, 56n7, 78n1, 135, 201n6

Haar, B. Ter 104
Hagen, J. M. 3, 9, 11, 79, 90, 105, 110–11, 115, 117, 121, 131n6, 137, 149, 155, 156n2, 158, 170, 190, 193, 196–7
hanahanai (wife-givers) 5, 49, 94, 97, 102, 129, 139, 149, 155; *see also* ***tanaite*** (wife-takers)
hanainae 111, 115, 130n4; *see also* plates (***piruna***); porcelain, Chinese
harta kawin 114; *see also* marriage wealth
Haruku 18, 181
Hatt, K. 196
Hatuheno 20, 23, 33, 106, 109, 152, 175, 178–9
Haya 17–19

head hunting and head taking 19, 27, 86, 89, 115, 178, 198, 200
Heider, K. G. 79
Henley, D. 200n2
Hickey, G. C. 14
Hicks, D. 3, 54, 96, 150
hierarchy 8, 27, 12n2, 190–2
Hila 15
historical ecology 27
history, and serendipity 10, 194; *see also* clans; language; Nuaulu
Hitu 15
Hoëvell, G. W. W. C. Van 19, 25, 32
Hoga Sara 56n6, 135, 156
Holleman, F. D. 55n2
Homans, G. C.187
Hornborg, A. 196
Hoskins, J. 115
hota 48, 82, 93, 96, 98, 100, 113, 132–3; ***makakae*** 81, 132; ***usa wenue*** (fire smoke marriages) 133
house: concept 57–8; sacred 58–64; societies 57–8; *see also* ***numa***, ***monne***
households 10–11, 34, 47, 51–3, 57–8, 64–73, 78n3, 90, 94, 103–4, 110–11, 114, 117, 120, 130, 137, 148, 163–4, 175, 177–8, 183, 186–8
Howell, S. 115
Huaulu 18, 27, 55n1, 103, 149, 159, 190, 200
Hugh-Jones, S. 57
hunonini 77, 112, 115, 125–6; ***sani*** 115, 122, 125; ***susa*** 115–16, 120–3, 125; ***tau mansia*** (paying with a person) 53, 76–7, 111

iae nisi pina 51–3, 67, 69, 71–2, 75–6, 103–7, 109–13, 120, 122, 125–6, 128–9, 146, 165
ia onate: ***aia*** 60, 90, 170, 182, 185–6; ***ankarua*** 90, 109, 167, 185–6
identity cards 22
ina 58, 77, 81–2, 90–2, 94–6, 98, 101, 112, 122–3, 132
incest (***manu huae***) 44, 97, 103, 108, 158–9, 161, 165–6, 168, 170–2, 190
Indonesia 1, 33, 106, 108, 119; eastern 2, 4–5, 8, 12n2, 24, 34n4, 35n13, 43, 45, 54, 56n6, 56n7, 57–8, 78n1, 101, 114, 120, 125, 132–3, 150, 156, 156n1, 190, 192, 201n5, 201n6; national politics 1, 178, 182, 197, 199, 200n2, 201n7; New Order 178, 197
infertility 75
inheritance 48–50, 75, 84, 86, 88–9; *see also* dual inheritance theory
ipane 6, 14, 36, 38, 42, 46–7, 55, 58, 112, 138–9; *see also* clans
irui anai osi amai manonte 75
isikotol (kind of ceramic bowl) 126, 131
Islam 10, 13n3, 15, 17, 19, 30, 33, 36, 49, 56n3, 70, 73, 77, 84, 108, 151, 158, 164, 177–8, 181–2, 189–90, 193, 197, 200n3

Jensen, A. E. 55n1, 90
joking relationship 70, 95
Jonge, N. de 3
Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de 2, 4, 45
Josselin de Jong, P. E. de 45, 150
Juynboll, H. H. 32

Kaartinen, T. 57

Kachin 14
kahuae 64, 116
kain timor 115–16
kaka 48, 81–2, 91, 93–6, 101; ***kaka-wani*** 9, 32, 39, 58, 96
kakinate (indicator) 170
kapitane 4, 36, 38, 40–1, 49, 53, 60–1, 63–4, 83–4, 112, 135–6, 155, 165
karanunu 88, 107, 114–15, 127–8, 164–5
kawin: *lari* 103–5, 109; *masuk* 51, 103–5, 110; *minta* 103–5
Kédang 155, 157n2
Kei 106, 147
Keiser, J. 15–16, 18, 32
Kei-Tanimbar (Tanebar-Evav) 56n4, 57
kemajuan 182
Kemp, J. H. 79
Keo 35n14, 56n4
kerusuhan 178, 181
kindred 56n3, 72
King, V. T. 14
kinship: categories 8–9, 14, 48–9, 55, 57, 79–80, 97, 101, 132, 159, 172, 187, 192, 194; cognatic 3, 14, 89, 190; diagrams 4, 11–12, 61, 140; ego-focussed 71–3; elementary structures 2, 187, 195; networks 9, 61, 64, 71–3, 79, 120, 188; non-biological *see* adoption; fostering; system 48, 57
kinship terminology: affinal 94–6; binomial qualifiers 48–9, 80, 92, 94, 96; classificatory 9, 12n1, 45, 50, 55, 67, 79, 100, 122, 129, 132–4, 149–50, 153–4, 155–6, 159, 170–2, 187–8, 194–5; (col) lateral 48, 82, 92–6, 100, 132; descriptive 12, 79, 187–8; language history and 99–101; notation 11–12; parents and children 90–1, 98, 102; pragmatics 96–8; reciprocal generation terms 48, 67, 80, 90–2, 96; space 79–80, 99, 194; symmetric 48, 82, 134–5, 150; uninomials 48–9, 96
Klinken, G. van 178
Knaap, G. J. 17, 27
konaupu (marriage or bride service) 47, 105, 109–10, 112, 114–15, 121–3, 127, 129–30, 131n7; ***mpiae konaupu*** 124, 126–8

language: Austronesian 4, 18, 80, 201n5; classification 18–19; history 14, 18–19, 99–101; Malayo-Polynesian 55n1, 80, 100
Lat, J. de 15–16, 18, 32
Leach, E. R. 14
Lease 18, 55, 108, 175
Lebar, F. M. 14
Lee, J. P. 181
Lehman, F. K. 79, 188
Leiden 2, 8, 16, 32, 45, 191, 201n5
Leilissa 17
Lévi-Strauss, C. 2–4, 8, 46, 54, 57, 89, 99, 135, 156, 187, 191, 195
Lewis, E. D. 12n2, 35n8, 35n12, 56n7, 56n8, 134, 156n1, 201n5
lineages 42–4, 55n1, 55n2, 56n2, 57–8, 61, 71, 84–5, 190
logging 33, 197, 201n7; *see also* deforestation
lord of the land 6, 60
loue (meeting of elders) 167

MacFarlane, A. 188
mahu (parents-in-law) 102

makae 5, 48, 81–2, 87, 93, 95, 106, 132–3, 135, 185
makae usa wenue *see* ***hota, usa wenue***
makahane sihuru 88, 173
Makariki 18–20, 22, 27, 178–9, 181
makarumate *see* elopement
Maluku Wars 200n3; *see also kerusuhan*
Mamboru 56n4, 135, 156n1
mananue 82, 95
mane (a suitable girl) 112
Maneo 9, 54, 105, 115, 117, 131n6, 137, 149, 155, 156n2, 157n2, 197
Manggarai 120, 134, 150
manonte 75, 122, 126
manori sou *see* go-between
Manusela 18, 22, 24, 55n2
marriage (***ausaha***): asymmetric cross-cousin *see* marriage (***ausaha***), matrilateral cross-cousin; 'big words' and 'great value' *see* ***sou mainae***; bilateral cross-cousin 2–3, 7–8, 12n1, 46, 132, 135, 149–50, 189, 192–3; cross-cousin 2–3, 7–9, 12n1, 12n2, 13n2, 33, 46, 94, 100, 104, 106, 132–5, 150, 154–6, 158, 164, 184–5, 187–93, 195; event 125–9; in-marriage 137, 189; leveritic 170–1; matrilateral cross-cousin 3, 12n1, 46, 100, 132–3, 155, 156n2, 190–3; negotiations (***uwaso nane umau***) 11, 53, 103, 105, 111–12, 117, 119–20; nexus 129–30; ordinary (***ihotai***) 132; out-marriage 137–8, 189; process 9, 102–5, 112, 120; repeat 4, 33, 50, 94, 100, 112, 133–7, 139, 184, 189, 192–3; sororitic or sororal 150, 154, 170–1; stability 130, 161–2; symmetric exchange 2, 8, 46, 88, 132, 156, 192; transactions 9, 11, 50, 102–3, 105, 108, 110, 114–20, 122, 124–5, 128, 130, 134, 140, 149, 155–6; typologies 2, 103–6, 150, 195, 201n6
marriage wealth: distribution 120–5; inflation 117, 119; monetary component (***kepeni***) 76, 105, 112, 114–15, 119–20; procurement 115, 120–5; ***susai ina*** 122–3; ***susai manonte*** 122; ***susai ua*** 122–3; ***susa wani*** 122–3
Masohi 16, 19–20, 25, 171, 178–9, 181
masyarakat (or *suku*) *terasing* 178
matahenne 107–8, 159, 165
mata rumah 55n2
Matoke: clan name used as title 6, 9, 22, 24, 29, 158; Hunanatu 12, 110
matrilaterality 132–4, 154; *see also* marriage, matrilateral cross-cousin
matriliny *see* descent
Mauss, M. 2
McKinnon, S. 3, 8, 57, 133, 149, 191–4
McWilliam, A. 197
mema 48, 77, 81–2, 94–5, 98
methods of research 10–13
migration 1, 19, 173, 175, 184, 196; *see also* transmigration
modernity, traditional pathway to 197
Moerman, M. 14
moieties 4, 35n6, 58
Molnar, A. K. 12n2, 42, 56n6, 101, 135, 156, 193, 201n6
Moluccas 1, 3–5, 34n3, 45, 54, 55n2, 56n2, 101, 103, 107–8, 120, 130n3, 175, 178, 181, 189, 197, 201n5; north 3
momo 48–9, 55, 67, 81–2, 90, 92, 94, 98–9
monne 30, 41–2, 61, 87, 89, 107, 131n5, 158–9, 164, 168–9; *see also* ***numa***, ***monne***; ***sau***, ***monne***
Morgan, L. H. 2, 187, 193
morite 139, 187

mother house 58, 64
mother's brother 2, 46–7, 54, 70, 87, 91, 97, 112–13, 121–2, 124, 126, 128–9, 139, 156, 157n2, 159, 172
msaha/pina terms 81, 83, 90–1, 94, 97, 99, 127
msahane 82, 94–5
Murdock, G. P. 45, 54, 72, 76, 83
myth 8–9, 12n2, 24–5, 29, 38, 41, 87, 99, 158, 172, 185

names: clan continuity 84–6, 88–9; cord-cutting (***nanai mamrehi tipue***) 83; illness and 11, 85–6, 77, 88, 97; personal 10–11, 43, 50, 70, 80–91, 96–100, 127, 159, 161, 173; repetition 88–9; sacred (***nanai monne***) 89; ***saruana*** 86
nasa 88, 124, 173–4
nasae *see* feasts
Naunue 15
Needham, R. 3, 12n2, 13n2, 35n13, 54, 56n4, 114, 134–5, 150, 156n1, 187
nemakae 87; ***susu*** 133
neneuni inai totui (returning to the mother) 132
neo-Darwinism 3
nicknames 11
Nikijuluw, J. 10
nipae 116, 123
Nuanea 8, 10, 23–6, 33, 39, 60, 67, 86, 105–6, 137, 147, 157n3, 175–9, 181–6, 197–9
Nuaulu: basic model of society 4–9, 36, 38, 45, 61, 64, 71, 132, 135, 139, 159, 161, 190, 193, 195, 198–9; early history of 14–33; ethnicity and identity 1, 4, 14, 17, 22, 33, 42, 60, 173–82, 189, 197; kinship corpus and database 2, 10–11, 13n3, 31–2, 73, 104, 106–7, 132–3, 140, 147, 149, 155, 161, 163, 184; north 5, 15, 18–19, 30, 32, 35n5, 106
Nuelitetu 18–20, 23, 33, 107, 178–9
nuhune 47, 60, 64, 126, 129, 163; ***-sainikane*** 182
numa: ***kapitane*** 36, 40–1, 49, 58–65, 84, 153, 185–7; ***mainae*** *see* ***numa, onate***; ***maritihanaa*** 64; ***matae*** 67; ***monne*** 36, 38–9, 47, 55, 58–62, 64, 66, 78n2, 186, 191; ***nuhune*** 60, 64; ***onate*** 36, 40–1, 49, 58–60, 62–5, 68, 77–8, 84, 116, 131n5, 154, 162, 174; ***saruana*** 64, 187; *see also* house
Nunusaku 18, 22, 25
Nusa Ina 18
Nusalaut 17–18
Nusa Tenggara 3, 45, 116, 194, 201n5
nusi 82, 92, 96, 101

oa 48, 81–2, 94–5; ***uka*** 82
omen (***makikiate***) 170
onomastics 14–22
Opin 5, 15, 17, 19–20, 32, 179
otonomi daerah 197

Pancasila 178, 182
Pannell, S. 3
parallel cousins 48, 56n3, 92–3, 100, 112, 161
Parkin, R. 11, 78n3, 132, 187
Patakai 18, 35n5
Patalima 19, 32, 115
Patasiwa 19, 32

patola cloth 117–18
patriliny *see* descent
Paul, R. A. 188, 199, 201n4
Paulohi 19
Pauwels, S. 3, 78n1, 130n3, 192
pela 15, 34n3, 146
penesite 41
person, categories of 57, 71, 79–80, 87, 98–9
piara 73–4, 98
pina/msaha *see* ***msaha/pina*** terms
pinamou 82, 164
plates (***piruna***): Chinese 115, 130, 131n4; European 130, 131n6; as exchange valuables 30, 41, 87, 91, 113, 115–21, 125–6, 128–30, 130n4, 131n5, 149, 169; *see also* porcelain, Chinese
polygyny 30, 158
population: decline 3, 33, 55, 198; growth 1, 33, 64, 67, 73, 105, 175–7, 182, 185, 189, 190, 193, 196–7
porcelain, Chinese 70, 88, 107, 111, 113, 115–16, 118, 122, 125–6, 129–30, 131n4, 163, 189
posune 70, 165, 168
precedence 4, 6, 8, 24, 29, 35n8, 35n12, 41, 49, 58, 102, 129, 185
preferential marriage 3, 56, 87, 133, 146, 149–50, 153–6, 156n1, 170, 187, 191–2
prescription 3, 102, 170, 187
pronouns 80–1, 83, 99–100
property transfer 44, 48–50, 53, 87–8, 121
puberty ceremonies 4, 41, 52, 70, 73, 81, 102, 107–8, 114, 127, 139, 164–5, 185, 187; *see also* ***matahenne***

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 45, 159
raja, role of 15, 17, 27, 29, 35n12, 60, 116, 181–2, 185–6
Rappaport, R. A. 172
Read, D. 79, 188
reformasi 197
Reid, A. 14
relationality 9, 79–80
relationship categories 9, 48–9, 57, 79–80, 97, 104, 159, 172, 187, 192, 194; *see also* kinship terminology
remarriage 43–4, 47, 53, 69, 74–5, 98, 110, 149, 161–3
Renard-Clamagirand, B. *see* Clamagirand, B.
reproduction: biocultural 187; biological 10, 42, 57, 79, 89, 111, 129, 187–9, 191, 198–9, 201n5; ritual 1, 33, 185, 189–91; social 7, 10, 41, 55, 87, 103, 129, 139, 161, 163, 173, 183, 185, 188–9, 193–4, 198–9, 201n5
Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS) 26, 29–30, 163, 197
residence 51–3, 64–70, 78n3; patrivirilocal 47, 65–6, 75, 112; uxorilocal 47, 51–4, 65, 67, 69–70, 72, 75, 110–12, 114, 164
resilience 1, 10, 173, 184, 196–7, 200, 200n2
Resolusi Haruku 181
Resusun, T. R. 27, 177, 181–2, 185
Richerson, P. 188
Rindi 12n2, 56n4, 135, 156n1, 157n2
ritual: house-building 183, 186, 189, 191, 194; life-cycle 4, 42, 49, 72, 102, 163, 183, 185, 191, 194; reproduction of *see* reproduction

Röder, J. 22, 27
Rosenberg, C. B. H. Von 19, 27
Rouhua Baru 33, 84, 175, 186
rows and pathways 13, 133, 149, 192
Ruatan 24–5, 29, 33–4, 35n14, 36, 137, 146, 159, 175–8, 182
ruhu-ruhu (compensation for homicide) 76–7
rules 2, 9–10, 12n2, 13n2, 48–9, 56n8, 96, 100, 103, 139, 149–50, 158–9, 161, 169, 171–2, 187, 190
rumah: *adat* 58; *pusaka* 58; *tau* 52n2
Rumah Olat 5, 15, 17, 19–20, 30, 32, 106, 179
ruma nae pina *see* elopement
Rumphius (Rumpf), G. E. 14–15, 17–18, 34n1, 34n2, 55n2
Rutah 18, 20, 33, 73, 106, 147, 167, 170, 178–9, 181

Sachse, F. J. P. 3n10
sago 25–6, 34, 41, 43, 64, 110, 123–4, 127–8, 162, 167
saha 82
Sahlins, M. 9
sakaenate hunonini 126
sakate 50
Saleman 15, 17, 19–20, 24, 26, 30, 32, 179, 181
saniri tiga air 27
Saparua 17–20, 26–7, 106
sau 9, 82, 95–6; ***makakae*** 95; ***monne*** 70, 82, 87, 95–7, 100, 112, 132, 149, 159, 161, 165–71
saudara susu 56n3
Sauer, J. J. 196
Schneider, D. M. 187
schooling *see* education
Schulte Nordholt, H. 178
Second World War 29–30, 197
Sellato, B. 14
senie pinamo 70
Sepa 9–10, 15, 17–20, 22, 26–30, 32–4, 34n1, 36, 42, 56n3, 73, 106–7, 116, 146–7, 151, 158–9, 167, 169, 175–9, 181–2, 186
Seram 1, 3–4, 9, 14–25, 27, 29–30, 32, 34n4, 35n5, 35n9, 36, 54, 55n1, 56n2, 58, 90, 106, 108, 114–15, 131n6, 139, 149, 158–9, 175, 177–80, 182, 186, 190–1, 193–4
Sercombe, P. G. 14
serial rights 34, 44
settlements: coastalization and concentration 19, 27–33; double 35n14; growth 10, 29, 173–7; new 32, 39, 64, 108, 140, 146, 157n3, 165, 178, 186–7, 200n1; old (abandoned) sites (***nia monae***) 15, 22–7, 36, 38, 60; *see also* Nuanea
shared intentionality 10
sibling exchange 2, 129, 149–50, 153–4, 156
sin wesie 34
sio naunua 19
sister exchange *see* sibling exchange
soa 27, 36, 45, 55n2, 56n2, 56n3
Soahuku 18, 20, 178–9
social classification 45, 80–3, 99–101, 103, 195
social classifiers 80–1, 83, 101; personalization, depersonalization and detemporalization 99
social cognition 48, 79–83, 99–100

socio-cosmic values and models 8–9, 198
soko kanai kam (betel quid ties) 102, 125
sou mainae 103–6, 109–10, 112–14, 116–17, 120, 122, 125, 129–30, 130n1, 134
sou osa 15
Strathern, A. 91, 99
Stresemann, E. 35n5
structuration 190
suane 24, 26, 30, 36, 64, 102, 116, 137, 157n3, 183, 185
succession to titles 29, 49–50, 56n6, 61–3, 186
Suharto 30, 178, 181, 197
Sukarno 30
sukarua 103–5, 130n2, 133
Sumba 35n13, 56n7, 135, 201n5
sunau (downstream) and ***suria*** (upstream) 129
symbolic communication 9, 12, 24, 50, 70, 79–80, 88, 99, 108, 114–15, 125, 154–5, 159, 169, 182, 185, 188, 199
symmetry, paradox of 8

taboos and prohibitions 11, 42, 78n2, 87, 90–1, 97, 102–3, 107, 124, 127, 130, 159, 160–1, 166, 172, 186, 193
Tamilouw 15, 17–20, 27, 29–30, 33, 35n9, 178–9, 181, 186–7
tanaite (wife-takers) 5, 49, 94–5, 102, 129, 139, 149, 155; *see also* ***hanahanai*** (wife-givers)
Tana Wai Brama 56n8
Tanimbar 133, 149, 191–4; *see also* Kei-Tanimbar (Tanebar-Evav)
Tauern, O. D. 19, 25, 27, 35n6
Tehoru 18–19, 25, 106, 109, 147, 163, 178
teknonymy 11, 81, 83, 89–92, 94, 97–9, 127
Teluti 17, 19
Ternate 35n6
Tetum 150
Tichelman, G. L. 28–9, 35n5, 35n6
Tidore 35n6
Timor 3, 18, 35n8, 45, 115–16, 132, 135, 201n5; Leste 200n2
tinaie (trunk, stem) 53
toa 82, 92, 96
Tomasello, M. 10
Tongli, U. 8–9, 19, 24–5, 29–30, 58–9, 64, 82, 96, 101n1, 110–12, 122–3, 125, 182–3
topogeny 8–9, 41, 185
toponymy 14–23, 35n9, 60
totems 41, 60, 88–9
transmigration 29, 33–4, 137, 159, 175, 177–8
Traube, E. 133–4
Tsing, A. L. 197
tupu-tupue 186
twins 58
Tyler, S. A. 98
Tylor, E. 45

uka 48, 81–2, 93–4, 98, 165, 169
unilaterality 134–7

upu 48, 82, 90, 92, 101

Valentijn, F. 17–18, 24
Valeri, V. 3, 35n6, 42, 55n1, 55n2, 102–3, 114, 149, 159, 190, 200
Visser, L. E. 3

Wahai 27–9, 32
wani 9, 32, 39, 58, 81–2, 93, 95–6, 101, 122–3
Wanokaka 56n4, 56n7, 135
Waraka 18–20, 24, 30, 33, 175, 179, 181, 186
Waterson, R. 57
we hehu ka 67, 94
Weiner, A. B. 115
Wemale 14, 19, 54, 55n1, 90
Wemane 15
wife-giving and wife-taking relationship 5, 8, 49, 54, 72, 86–8, 94–102, 110, 114, 116–17, 120–1, 124–6, 129–30, 139, 149–50, 155–6, 170, 191–2
Wouden, F. A. E. Van 2–3, 12n2, 27, 45–6, 55n1, 55n2, 134, 156, 190, 201n5

Yainuelo 20, 178–9
Yalahatan 18–20, 22, 30, 69, 106, 127, 179, 189

Zeitlyn, D. 11, 79